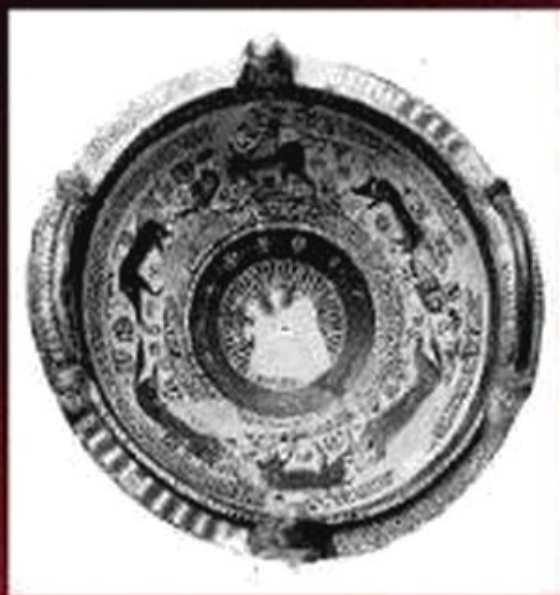


OXFORD

NAUKRATIS

TRADE IN ARCHAIC GREECE



Astrid Möller

OXFORD MONOGRAPHS ON CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Edited by John Boardman, J. J. Coulton,
Dorinda Kurtz, R. R. R. Smith, and Margareta Steinby

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Preface

This book originates in a German doctoral thesis submitted at the Freie Universität Berlin in 1990. During the process of translation it has been revised and recent literature till 1997 included, but its substance remained unchanged.¹

To work with archaeological material which was excavated a hundred years ago has its vagaries. The excavators were very prompt in publishing the results of each campaign, but did not attempt to publish the material in full. Since it was dispersed widely without being indexed beforehand, it is now difficult to reconstruct the finds. If I had hoped to undertake a major archaeological study, I would not have embarked on such an enterprise with the material from Naukratis. For one person alone, to catalogue and categorize all unpublished finds which can still be detected in museum stores seems impossible. Therefore, I have concentrated on the published material, putting special effort into the identification of finds published in the old Naukratis volumes, with museum inventory-numbers where possible. Sometimes this was a mere incident of serendipity.

Whoever has had a book translated has probably experienced similar agonies. (This is not the least reason for delaying publication for so long.) To read my text in English first seemed to me like reading it through filters which alienated my own thoughts, since I felt deeply the difference between expressing thoughts in German and in English.

During the academic year of 1987/8 and many more research visits to Oxford I always experienced the generosity and erudition of Sir John Boardman. He supervised my work during the year at Oxford, suggested the translation of my thesis into English for publication at the Oxford University Press, commented on its progress, and never failed to believe that one day I would finally finish the manuscript. To him I express my profoundest gratitude.

The continuous support of Hans-Joachim Gehrke (Freiburg i.Br.), my

¹ There is, however, a number of more recent literature to be acknowledged. W. D. E. Coulson (with the assistance of J. Leventi and with contributions by J. Rehard, J. Sanders, R. Sullivan, and C. Villas), *Ancient Naukratis*, ii: *The Survey at Naukratis and Environs*, pt. I: *The Survey at Naukratis* (Oxford 1997) was long awaited, but unfortunately not available before finishing my manuscript. R. M. Cook and P. Dupont, *East Greek Pottery* (1997) and J. Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting: 11th–6th centuries BC* (1998) came equally too late to make use of them. And T. Heine Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Historia Einzelschriften 117, 1997) contains two studies dealing with *empōria* (M. H. Hansen, J. Hind).

Doktorvater, who has encouraged my work on this topic and its approach, who accompanied its progress with his clear-cut advice and examined my doctoral thesis, has shaped this book a great deal. To him I owe much intellectual inspiration.

The text was translated by Michael A. C. Claridge (Bremen). Without his conscientious care and devotion, the task of publishing a German dissertation in English would have been impossible. However, nobody can blame him for infelicities of style or Germanisms of expression, since I am responsible for the revision.

In its various stages, this book has benefited a great deal from many different people. First of all I wish to acknowledge my examiners Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer (Berlin) and Volker Fadinger (Berlin) for their support of my research and the examination procedure. The first anonymous reader, who read both the German and the English versions, and the second, both deserve my appreciation for their suggestions, which were duly considered. I was able to discuss specific problems of my topic with Andrée Gorton (Paris), who also provided me with parts of her manuscript before publication, Uta Kron (Berlin), Franziska Lang (Rostock), Anna Lemos (Athens), Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (Heidelberg), Stephan Seidlmayer (Berlin), and Helen Whitehouse (Oxford); to all of them I owe illuminating comments. During different stages, parts of this work were read by Jim Coulton (Oxford), Martin Dennert (Freiburg i.Br.), Alan W. Johnston (London), Nino Luraghi (Freiburg i.Br.), Sitta von Reden (Bristol), Simon Stoddard (Bristol), Rudolf Wachter (Basel), Gregor Weber (Eichstätt), Greg Woolf (St. Andrews), all of whom undoubtedly improved the book by their valuable criticism. I have to thank Dyfri Williams (British Museum, London), Ann Brown and Michael Vickers (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and David Gill (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) for helping me to a first hand view of the Naukratis material.

For many, many years, I enjoyed the friendship of the members of an interdisciplinary study group on theoretical archaeology in Berlin. I wish to thank Reinhard Bernbeck (Binghamton/NY), Svend Hansen (Bochum), Stefan Hauser (Berlin), Susanne Kerner (Berlin), Roland Lamprichs (Dresden), Franziska Lang (Rostock), and Gunnar Lehmann (Beer-Sheva) for stimulating discussions on theoretical issues.

I am much obliged to Bettina Kreuzer (Freiburg i.Br.) and Brigitte Wilke (Triberg i.Schw.) who never failed to listen to the difficulties puzzling me in dealing with the evidence and who read several parts of this work.

My brother Thomas Möller (Berlin) contributed his expertise in graphics design to provide the chronological chart of Greek pottery styles at

Naukratis, and Marion Cox (Oxford) drew the map of Naukratis, for which I am most grateful.

To Luis E. González (Cologne) for encouragement and intellectual help I owe more than I am able to put down in writing.

I have to thank the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung for a scholarship enabling the research and writing of my doctoral thesis and the DAAD for their support in financing the year at Oxford.

Last, not least, thanks to the editors of the Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, who were so kind as to include this book in their series, since so much of my work was conceived at Oxford.

This book is dedicated to my grandmother Martha Rosenthal, whose constant confidence and wit helped me through times of discouragement.

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations of journals are those of *L'Année Philologique*, the abbreviations of ancient authors can be found in *Der Kleine Pauly* i. The following are used in addition:

ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (1956)
Addenda ²	T. Carpenter, <i>Beazley Addenda</i> , 2nd edn. (1989)
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes</i> (Athenische Abteilung)
Amyx	D. A. Amyx, <i>Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period</i> (1988)
Ancient Egypt	B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, and A. B. Lloyd, <i>Ancient Egypt: A Social History</i> (1983)
ARC	<i>Archaeological Review from Cambridge</i>
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , 2nd edn. (1963)
Aubet	M. E. Aubet, <i>The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade</i> (1993)
Austin	M. M. Austin, 'Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age', <i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i> Supplement 2 (1970)
Austin and Vidal-Naquet	M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, <i>Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction</i> (1977)
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad</i>
Beazley and Payne	J. Beazley and H. Payne, 'Attic Black-Figured Fragments from Naukratis', <i>JHS</i> 49 (1929), 253–72
Bernand	A. Bernand, <i>Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs</i> , i: <i>Les confins libyques</i> (1970)
von Bissing	F. W. von Bissing, 'Naukratis', <i>BSAA</i> 39 (1951), 33–82
Blumenthal	E. Blumenthal, <i>Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation im Mittelmeerraum</i> , <i>Tübinger Geographische Studien</i> , 10 (1963)
BMCS	F. N. Pryce, <i>Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London</i> (1928)
BMCT	R. A. Higgins, <i>Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London</i> (1954)
Boardman, ABFV	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Black Figure Vases: A handbook</i> (1974)
Boardman, GO ³	J. Boardman, <i>The Greeks Overseas</i> , 3rd edn. (1980)
Brijder I	H. A. G. Brijder, <i>Siana Cups I and Komast Cups</i> , <i>Allard Pierson Series</i> , 4 (1983)
Brijder II	H. A. G. Brijder, <i>Siana Cups II: The Heidelberg Painter</i> . <i>Allard Pierson Series</i> , 8 (1991)
Buck	C. D. Buck, <i>The Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary</i> , 2nd edn. (1961)
Budde and Nicholls	L. Budde and R. Nicholls, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge</i> (1964)
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>

- CGED *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident. Colloques internationaux du CNRS N.569 en Naples 1976* (1978)
- Chios, 1986 J. Boardman and C. E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson (eds.), *Chios: A Conference at the Homereion in Chios 1984* (1986)
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- Coldstream, GGP J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968)
- Cook, GPP R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 2nd edn. (1972)
- CVA *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
- Cyrene ii *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya: Final Reports*, ii: G. P. Schaus, *The East Greek, Island, and Laconian Pottery* (1985)
- Cyrene iv *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya: Final Reports*, vol. iv, pt. 1: P. G. Warden, *The Small Finds* (1990)
- DGE E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* (1923)
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- Edgar, Sculpture C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Greek Sculpture* (1903)
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- LdÄ* *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
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- LGPN *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, i: ed. P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (1987); ii: ed. M. J. Osborne and S. G. Bryne (1994); iii: ed. P. Fraser and E. Matthews (1997)
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- Lloyd *com.* A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary*, 1–98 (1976); 99–182 (1988)
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- ML R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, 2nd edn. (1988)
- NAR *Norwegian Archaeological Review*
- Naukratis* I W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Naukratis*, i (1886)
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- Tod M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC* (1933)

<i>Trade</i>	P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), <i>Trade in the Ancient Economy</i> (1983)
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Venit, <i>Naukratis</i>	M. S. Venit, <i>Greek Painted Pottery from Naukratis in Egyptian Museums</i> , ARCE Catalogs, 7 (1988)
<i>Vroulia</i>	K. F. Kinch, <i>Vroulia. Fouilles de Vroulia</i> (1914)
Walters	H. B. Walters, <i>Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities</i> , British Museum, London (1903)
Webb	V. Webb, <i>Archaic Greek Faience: Miniature Scent Bottles and Related Objects from East Greece, 650–500 BC</i> (1978)
Weickert	C. Weickert, <i>Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinastien</i> (1929)

I

Introduction

... man muß zuerst wissen, was man suchen will; erst dann kann man finden; man muß die Dinge richtig fragen, dann antworten sie, und die ἀπόδειξις zeigt nur auf, was man zu suchen verstanden hat.

J. G. Droysen¹

For over a hundred years, the study of the ancient economy² has been characterized by two opposing views based on different conceptions of the economy and its historical development. The modernists describe the Greek and Roman economy as if it were a fully-fledged modern capitalist economy in terms like 'market', 'export interests', 'monopolies', and 'entrepreneurs'. An outspoken advocate of this opinion was Eduard Meyer,³ who claimed that we can hardly imagine the Greek economy as too modern. He was attacking Karl Bücher's identification of three historical stages in economic evolution which corresponded roughly to the three great epochs: according to Bücher, classical antiquity was characterized by 'closed household economy' (*geschlossene Hauswirtschaft*), the Middle Ages by 'city economy' (*Stadtwirtschaft*), and the modern world by 'national economy' (*Volkswirtschaft*). Bücher's deductive model very easily proved inapplicable in the light of the evidence.⁴

The reluctance to attach the stigma of primitivism to the ancient Greeks still prevails. As long as we consider ourselves as the heirs of the ancient Greeks, we are not inclined to portray them as being in any way backward or primitive.⁵ In regarding their legacy as the foundation of our thought,

¹ J. G. Droysen, *Historik*, ed. P. Leyh (1977), 58: 'one has to know what one is looking for; only then one can find; one has to ask the right questions, only then do they give answers, and the historical account gives only what one has understood to look for'.

² Strictly speaking, there should be no study of ancient economy as such. According to Karl Polanyi's theory, in pre-industrialized societies the economy is embedded in society. It does not constitute a separate sector and can therefore not be studied in isolation, but only as part of social and cultural history. The concept of 'the economy' is a modern one and it is only for the sake of simplicity that I will use the term to denote the provision of material needs, focusing on production, distribution, and appropriation of material items and services. Cf. E. Will, *Le monde grec et l'orient*, i (1972), 631.

³ Ed. Meyer, 'Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums', in id., *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichtstheorie und zur wirtschaftlichen und politischen Geschichte des Altertums* (1910), 79–168.

⁴ On the Bücher–Meyer controversy cf. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 3 ff. with further bibliography.

⁵ Cf. P. Millett, *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (1991), 16 f.

it seems impossible to assume that their consciousness could have been different from ours.⁶

Karl Polanyi acknowledged the fundamental difference between pre-industrialized economies and our own and attempted an inductive approach by collecting evidence from different cultures in order to develop an economic theory of pre-industrialized societies. Polanyi was convinced that pre-industrialized societies and their economies could only be analysed in substantive terms. These terms describe how institutions guarantee the provision of material needs, and take particular account of the social context of economic activity. On the other hand, the formal approach in economic history considers the economy as detached from society and sees the market as a ubiquitous phenomenon. According to Polanyi, this statement can only hold true for the industrialized market economy. The work of Karl Polanyi resulted in the debate between modernists and primitivists being superseded by a debate between formalists and substantivists; the point at issue was no longer the historical development of economy but rather what approach ought to be used to analyse past economies.⁷

The poverty of sources for the Archaic Greek economy, and their nature, limit from the outset any attempt to describe in the Rankian way 'what actually happened' (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*). Combined with unconscious notions about how the economy works today, this has resulted in a variety of images of Archaic Greek economy. These various interpretations may all have, at least at first glance, some plausibility. However, when evidence is hardly meaningful in itself, it is easily manipulated by interpretations based on preconceptions that are not explicitly formulated.⁸ Given this situation, the only way to write about Archaic Greek economy seems to be to make explicit use of concepts designed to guide our interpretation of the evidence.⁹

Written sources alone provide insufficient information about Archaic

⁶ T. J. Figueira, *AncW* 10, 1984, 18, in what can only be called a neo-conservative reaction to Polanyi, rejects any difference between us and the Greeks.

⁷ This might seem to be too optimistic a statement, since German scholarship still tends to treat Finley's image of a primitive ancient economy as grossly distorted; cf. e.g. L. Neesen, *Demiourgoi und Arüfices. Studien zur Stellung freier Handwerker in antiken Städten* (1989), 19 ff., 286 ff. Or take ignorance of the fact that our concept of economy differs fundamentally from that of the ancients, cf. S. T. Lowry, *The Archaeology of Economic Ideas: The Classical Greek Tradition* (1987), mentioned by P. Millett, *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (1991), 17, as a heroic but misguided effort to trace Greek origins in modern economic theory. On the same (mistaken) track are C. P. Baloglou and A. Constantinidis, *Die Wirtschaft in der Gedankenwelt der alten Griechen* (1993).

⁸ Cf. Finley, *EM*, 18.

⁹ The necessarily one-sided nature of such a procedure was well countered by A. Momigliano, in id., *Contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (1955), 229: 'The trouble is that people who do not accept unilateral approaches too often have no approach at all.'

trade to allow questions to be easily answered about the goods exchanged, the personnel involved, and the procedures applied. The archaeological evidence is one-sided: it reveals only the end-result of movements of products, and not the conditions under which they were moved. Even if we had lavish evidence at our disposal, it would be naive to believe the sources would display all information the historian needs. Enquiring into their meaning needs clear ideas about our aims. As Moses Finley put it, an historical interpretation is a complex of answers to questions.¹⁰ These questions are not raised by the sources, but by the historian himself. Therefore, not all our historical knowledge lies in the sources, but is the result of erudition pursued with the assistance of the evidence.¹¹ If the pre-conceptions with which we approach this task are not made explicit there is the added danger that we may inadvertently impose modern categories on a very alien world.¹² The gap between us and the ancients is simply too large for us to believe that we might acquire an image of ancient society by just reading the sources. Instead, we need a set of heuristic devices regulated by explicit theory.

In dealing with the Archaic Greek economy, we find ourselves in a situation in which we cannot but use theories and models which give us the heuristic tools and control of interpretation. Polanyi's anthropological theory of the economy provides valuable concepts for analysing movements of objects within a society and between different societies. However, since he paid no attention to production,¹³ his theory cannot be called a comprehensive economic theory.

In this book, my use of the term 'model' corresponds to the *Idealtypus* as defined by Max Weber:¹⁴ Ideal-type constructs are conceptual abstractions attained by reducing the wealth of empirical data to its supposed core components by singling out and accentuating those features which are held to be central or basic to the institution in question, and suppressing those features that are considered marginal to it. The ideal-type cannot be found in reality, it only approximates to social reality.¹⁵ This is the very procedure Polanyi applied in his work. He collected data from different cultures and

¹⁰ Finley, *EM*, 6; cf. id., *The Ancient Economy*, 2nd edn. (1985), 23; M. Crawford, 'Introduction', in id. (ed.), *Sources for Ancient History* (1983), xi.

¹¹ Cf. A. Heuß, *HZ* 225 (1977), 33.

¹² Crawford, op. cit., xi.

¹³ Cf. P. Cartledge, in *Trade*, 6; W. Nippel, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 7 for further criticism.

¹⁴ Finley, *EM*, 60f.: 'An ideal type is a model.' Cf. P. Burke, *History and Social Theory* (1992), 28.

¹⁵ Cf. M. Weber, 'Die "Objektivität" sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis', in id., *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, 7th edn. (1988), 191. A clear introduction to Max Weber's thought can be found in F. Parkin, *Max Weber* (1982), on ideal-types cf. 28ff. Finley, *EM*, 61 quotes Weber's fullest statement on ideal-types in English. I am well aware that the epistemological justification of Weber's ideal-type is not at all simple. However, here is not the place to dwell on this.

attempted to create his anthropological models of economy by emphasizing single features. His well-defined patterns of integration and institutions cannot be found in social reality, but they help to categorize empirical data much more precisely.

The use of models presupposes that the writing of history is to be understood as a branch of the social sciences where the application of models is well established as a means for comparison. Traditional historians, however, might wish to reject such a procedure on the grounds that they conceive of their task as the description and interpretation of particular, unique and unrepeatable events. The idiographic approach seems to exclude comparative methods. But how can a society be described as having specific traits without comparing it to other societies?¹⁶ And how can a comparison be conducted without defining the characteristic points for comparison in advance?

Comparison of cultures seems to me only possible if we have a tool for defining the points of view under which a certain cultural feature reveals its meaning. We need a *tertium comparationis* which is more than comparing two historical situations on the same level. Max Weber used ideal-type constructs as a standard against which to measure empirical data, defining the specificity of each example in terms of the points at which it corresponds to the ideal-type and those at which it differed from it. This methodological procedure can provide a *tertium comparationis*: the ideal-type represents the frame of reference in relation to which empirical data can be compared. Some historians have acknowledged the value of ideal-type constructs because of their capacity to reflect the diversity of the world. According to Alfred Heuß,¹⁷ the Weberian ideal-type commits us to see historical phenomena in their universal context, not to take them simply for granted. Then, he continues, comparison becomes no otiose luxury, but a method to determine the similar and the dissimilar, identity and difference, the dimension of the individual.

The admittedly problematic use of the ideal-type has its value nevertheless in improving our knowledge by directing us to ask the proper questions. In adopting Polanyi's model of the 'port of trade', we may learn that Naukratis was neither a Milesian colony nor simply a monopolistic trading colony. Instead, we learn that we should attempt to assess Naukratis' status in relation to the Egyptian economy and consequently describe it in the

¹⁶ Burke, *op.cit.*, 23, quotes Weber's classical answer to the objection of comparison: 'We are absolutely in accord that history should establish what is specific, say, to the medieval city; but this is possible only if we first find what is missing in other cities (ancient, Chinese, Islamic).'

¹⁷ A. Heuß, 'Max Weber und das Problem der Universalgeschichte', in *id.*, *Zur Theorie der Weltgeschichte* (1968), 74.

framework of Polanyi's models as resembling very closely indeed the ideal-type of a 'port of trade'.¹⁸

The ideal-type or model cannot be falsified in the face of historical data, since it is not a true hypothesis.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it will guide the formulation of hypotheses. And when a model is used it needs to be further developed to take account of the advances in knowledge generated by its use. This is what happened to Polanyi's concept of the 'port of trade' in the course of my application of the model to the evidence for Naukratis, and my characterization of a 'port of trade' includes, as a result, attributes that featured little in or were even completely absent from Polanyi's original formulation. On the other hand Polanyi's main focus—its function as interface between two differently organized economies—loses some prominence in my delineation of the model, even though it applies particularly well to the case of Naukratis.

Archaeologists are usually the first to deal with the results of the transportation of objects and tend to realize more easily the difficulties of interpreting their material. Because their objects are mute, they started very early to make use of models to account for the movement of items.²⁰ Archaeological evidence does not display its meaning, whereas literary evidence contains an interpretation of the facts reported.²¹ According to Finley,²² ancient historians are often seduced into the unexpressed proposition that statements in the literary or documentary sources are to be accepted unless they can be disproved. Archaeologists in general are better protected against this prejudice. However, classical archaeologists are more liable to interpret their evidence in the light of literary sources, since they are 'bound to a full and informative literary background and to art history'.²³

¹⁸ This was already acknowledged by Humphreys, 43 (originally published in 1969). Her remark is somehow misleading since Austin in 1970 did not mention the 'port of trade' model. Cf. 117 (originally published in 1967), where she considers the model in some respects inapplicable elsewhere); Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 66 f., 235; A. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 318; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, 2nd edn. (1993) 228; and Gehrke, 119. E. M. Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 119 n. 4, quoted Ebers, who already compared Naukratis to the later Dutch factory of Desima in Japan, another example approximating the 'port of trade'.

¹⁹ cf. Finley, *EM*, 66; however, he seems to equate model with hypothesis.

²⁰ e.g. C. Renfrew, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 3–59.

²¹ Cf. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Klassische Archäologie. Eine kritische Einführung* (1978), 26.

²² Finley, *EM*, 21.

²³ J. Boardman, *Encounter* 40/4, 1973, 67, quoted by Finley, *EM*, 19. Recently, I. Morris id. (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies* (1994), 8–47 has given an outline of the development of classical archaeology as a subject showing how much research in this field is bound to a wider ideological background than that given by the ancient authors. Today, it is less a question of proving literary evidence wrong in the light of archaeological material than of seeing its ideological biases. For the latter, cf. C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics* (1993).

Since literary sources on Archaic Greek trade are scarce, we have to take fuller account of archaeological evidence. Keeping in mind the gaps in the picture resulting from the loss of perishable material such as wood, grain, and textiles, archaeological material can be treated in three respects. First, we have to determine the origin of the objects. In the case of ceramics or *objets d'art*, this is usually done by stylistic classification or chemical analysis. Metal finds without stylistic significance can hardly be traced to their place of origin and one usually relies on assumptions based on the areas where either metal deposits or metal workshops are known.²⁴ Secondly, one can describe patterns of distribution which, however, normally amount to nothing more than plotting find spots on maps. Distribution studies too rarely include information about the quantities of objects found or their contexts, i.e. whether the finds were made in a sanctuary, necropolis, or settlement area,²⁵ and in any case often reflect variations in the intensity of archaeological research from one region to another. And thirdly, we may ask questions about the organization of trade, how an object was moved to its final destination. An answer attempted by applying modern, albeit unconscious, notions of trade can only distort the picture and we should make use of models giving different possibilities of modes of exchange. In Greek culture these models may be supplemented and corrected by written evidence.

In concentrating on the material remains of trade it is easily forgotten that it was agriculture that formed the basis of ancient economies and that warfare was an important additional means of securing wealth. Trade as the exchange of material needs existed in pre-industrialized societies. Since no society was ever self-sufficient, metals, prestige goods and sometimes foodstuffs had to be imported. However, the question to what extent this developed into a trade which was more than the exchange of prestige items or the provision of material needs, is still open and a matter of debate.²⁶

In the following chapters, I attempt to shed some light on aspects of Archaic Greek trade from the viewpoint of Polanyi's anthropological

²⁴ For chemical analysis of metal finds see J. Riederer, *Archäologie und Chemie: Einblicke in die Vergangenheit*, exhibition catalogue of the Rathgen research laboratory SMPK Berlin 1987. C. C. Mattusch, *The Fire of Hephaistos: Large Classical Bronzes from North American Collections*, exhibition catalogue, Boston (1996) leaves a more sceptical impression about the possibilities of chemical analysis to determine origins of bronzes. M. Y. Treister, *The Role of Metals in Ancient Greek History* (1996) has collected the evidence and discusses the transportation and trade of metals on the basis of various models.

²⁵ Cf. R. M. Cook, *BSA* 44, 1949, 154. Equally problematic are statistics which do not give the context of the items counted and deal with absolute numbers, not proportions, cf. R. Osborne, *Antiquity* 70, 1996, 31–44.

²⁶ e.g. Osborne, *Antiquity* 70, 1996, 31–44 ventures a model of exchange which takes into account the directional trade of vases from Athens to Etruria. However, in assuming the existence of inter-dependent markets in the Mediterranean world he distorts the phenomenon in a modernistic manner.

theory of economy. Therefore, it is necessary to outline Polanyi's models in order to account for my presuppositions in interpreting the evidence. The main interpretative priority to emerge from Polanyi's work is that consideration has to be directed towards the social and political context in which the organization of trade is embedded.

The *empóron* Naukratis in the Western Nile delta acts as the focus for trading contacts during the late seventh and the sixth centuries BC. It approximates very closely indeed to Polanyi's model of a 'port of trade'. To prove this statement I will first of all examine the economic organization of the two cultures which came into contact at Naukratis. The chapter on Egypt during the Saite dynasty deals with the background in which the *empóron* was embedded in the Egyptian redistributive system and whose controlling and external device it was. In the chapter devoted to Greek economy I try to show the unfolding of market elements by examining traders, *empória*, and the development of the *agora*. In an excursus I will go into the question of the economic background of the 12 poleis mentioned by Herodotus as being involved in Naukratis and ask what drove them to take an active role in trade with Egypt.

To portray the *empóron* Naukratis in all its facets, I will attempt to reconstruct the archaeological evidence as far as we can deduce it from the old excavation reports, the published finds, and the results of recent survey and excavations by the American Delta project.²⁷ In a second step, the archaeological evidence is interpreted together with the written sources in relation to the heuristic model of the 'port of trade'. This provides an example of how exchange and life in a Greek *empóron* might have been conducted at the end of the seventh century and during the sixth century BC.

No consideration is given to the origins of coinage and its interaction with Greek trade. At Archaic Naukratis, coinage was of no significance as a means of exchange, but only as valuable metal, since the Egyptians did not use money themselves. The earliest coin hoards in Egypt are dated to the end of the sixth century BC, a time already beyond the scope of this book.

In addition it has not proved possible to include a full section on amphorae, since the published material is not sufficient for evaluation. One has to assume that a significant proportion of the less beautiful sherds was sorted out immediately on the spot during the British excavation campaigns at the turn of the century and that they are forever lost. I nevertheless deal with amphorae in some passages below.

²⁷ For final publication cf. W. D. E. Coulson *et al.*, *Ancient Naukratis*, ii: *The Survey at Naukratis and Environs*, pt. 1: *The Survey at Naukratis* (1997). Regrettably, this volume came too late to be fully incorporated in this book.

II

Karl Polanyi's Anthropological Theory of Economy

In accordance with the hermeneutical principles laid down in the introduction, this chapter will be devoted to an account of the theoretical models underlying the analysis and interpretation of the source material. Karl Polanyi's empirical observations resulted in a series of ideal-types such as can be employed for the evaluation of the evidence from Naukratis in the following chapters.

Polanyi's works¹ do not form one single, complete theory of economy; rather, they should be seen—as Sally Humphreys² has put it so aptly—as sketches of areas within largely unexplored territory. It is of course true that George Dalton went to great lengths to develop Polanyi's ideas further; the fact nevertheless remains that they continue to be far from accepted as paradigms for all further research in the field of economic anthropology or economic history.³ Indeed, such continuations of Polanyi's approach have served only to limit unduly the openness that is the very advantage of his ideal-types. It is for this reason that one should return to Polanyi himself and employ his original ideas. His work has been taken up by only a few within the realm of the economic history of classical antiquity,⁴ something due partly to his own—problematic—statements on the subject of Greek history,⁵ and partly to lack of interest shown for anthropological approaches within ancient history.

¹ Polanyi did not present his concepts in a comprehensive work, but developed them in several articles from which I will select my references. My understanding of Polanyi's ideas was much improved by the following works: G. Dalton, 'Introduction', in Polanyi, *Essays*, ix–liv; id., in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 63–132; Humphreys, 31–75; W. Nippel, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 1–39; cf. id., in *Historische Methode. Theorie der Geschichte*, Bd. 5, ed. Chr. Meier and J. Rüsen (1988), 303–10.

² Humphreys, 67.

³ *Pace* Dalton 1975, 74 ff.

⁴ Cf. Humphreys, 31–75; Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 7 ff. The notable exception in Germany is W. Nippel, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 1–39. The first translation of a collection of Polanyi's essays into German, apart from *The Great Transformation* (German 1977), appeared in 1979 (K. Polanyi, *Ökonomie und Gesellschaft*, trans. H. Jelinek, Frankfurt a.M.), unfortunately a rather weak translation.

⁵ Cf. W. Nippel, in *Historische Methode* (1988), 307.

I. THE FORMAL AND THE SUBSTANTIVE APPROACHES TO ECONOMIC THEORY

Polanyi disagreed with the view that markets were the ubiquitous form of economic organization—an attitude regarding the notion of the market as essential to the description of every economy—and also with the belief that it is the economic organization of any given society which determines its social, political, and cultural structures. For his part, Polanyi contended that an economy organized around the market first came into being with the Industrial Revolution, and that it was not until then that the two root meanings of the word 'economic'—on the one hand, in the sense of provision with goods; on the other, in the sense of a thrifty use of resources, as in the words 'economical' and 'economizing'—merged. The second meaning is the one placed in the foreground by the neoclassicists of economic theory, who consider everything under the aspect of the household, which must achieve the best possible results with scarce means. Polanyi disputed the view that every economy had the meaning of 'economic' in the sense of cost-benefit calculation, believing the term to be understood in every society first of all in the sense of structured agreements governing provision with material means.

Polanyi's fundamental differentiation of approaches to looking at economy takes as its starting-point this separation of the two meanings of 'economic'.⁶ He distinguished between the formal and substantive definitions of economy, both as a whole and with reference to certain economic institutions as explained below.

Max Weber⁷ also differentiated between formally rational economic action, expressed in numerical, arithmetical considerations, and one that is materially rational in nature. This latter is inaccessible for formal observation: what is required is a value-rational process of observation, determined by ethical, political, and social conditions. Economically orientated acts are fashioned in accordance with evaluating postulates that go beyond intrinsically economic aspects. However, the concept of material rationality is extremely ambiguous, since the term can only be delimited from the more logical purpose-rational acts.

The relationship between the two approaches—Weber's and Polanyi's—is far from obvious. What stands out upon comparison is the difference in their starting-points. In his differentiation between substantive and formal, Polanyi first of all took the observer's perspective to reflect upon economy;

⁶ Cf. Polanyi, *Essays*, 139–74.

⁷ M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1976) ch. 2, §9, 44 f.

Weber, in differentiating between materially rational and formally rational acts, wishes to focus upon the person performing the act. However, Polanyi's analyses, with their attempt to clarify formally rational acts and institutions by means of substantive terms, can be said to lie at the point where both approaches intersect.

According to Polanyi, the formal definition of economy is bound up with the logical character of the means–end relationship. The achievement of optimum profit with limited means is a purpose-rational act in the Weberian sense,⁸ one following the laws of logic. This formal approach to economy is appropriate for the analysis of the market economy in industrialized capitalist countries. However, it cannot be used in the case of economies that are not organized on a market-economy basis, for which Polanyi suggested a minimalist definition.

The substantive meaning of economy is connected with man's dependence upon nature and upon his community. Every community requires foodstuffs, together with those things that maintain it. The community can thus be said to have an economy, in the sense of a structured order with enforceable rules for the acquisition, distribution, and production of material items and services. From the substantive point of view, this satisfaction of material needs has nothing to do with logical thought; rather, it is based upon natural facts.

For this reason, Polanyi⁹ maintains that only a substantive observation of economy can deliver the concepts required by the social sciences if they are to be able to study those pre-industrial economies of the past and the present known to us. He expresses the resultant precedence of a community's social and cultural relations over its economic organization through his concept of the 'embeddedness' of the economic institutions within the social context.¹⁰ In contrast to the post-industrial period, the economy of pre-industrial societies was not a sector separated from society.

It was in this sense that Marcel Mauss¹¹ understood 'total' as the keyword for the study of archaic communities. Exchanges in these societies are 'total' social activities, meaning that they are simultaneously economic, juridical, moral, aesthetic, religious, mythological, and sociomorphological phenomena.¹²

In the following, it is assumed that the economy of ancient Greece likewise cannot be analysed with the instruments of modern economic theory.

⁸ Cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, ch. 6, 382 ff.

⁹ Polanyi, *Essays*, 140.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 119 f.

¹¹ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (new trans. 1990), 5 ff.

¹² Cf. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, in M. Mauss, *The Gift* (1954), vii.

Analysis reveals that those institutions which appear to us to be typically 'economic', such as trading, financial transactions, and banking, are in fact dependent upon political and social institutions. They can only be comprehended as functions of these social structures.¹³ For this reason, it seems impossible to talk of the 'economic history of classical antiquity' as such, since it is embedded in the history of political, social, and cultural structures. Accordingly, the analysis of 'economic' institutions must be effected with the aid of concepts and terms other than those made available to us by such economic theories as are focused upon a modern market economy. Polanyi made the following suggestions in this respect.

2. PATTERNS OF INTEGRATION

Polanyi postulated three patterns of integration¹⁴ with respect to the determination of the status of the economy within a given society and the question of the connection between social and economic relations:

- (1) redistribution, meaning the movement of goods in the direction of a centre of distribution and out of it again;
- (2) reciprocity, meaning the movement of goods between correlative points of symmetrical groupings within or between societies;
- (3) [market] exchange,¹⁵ meaning the mutual movement of goods within a market system.

In his book *The Great Transformation*,¹⁶ Polanyi deals with a fourth type of pattern of integration, called 'householding', one which he takes up again in *Dahomey and the Slave Trade*,¹⁷ presumably the result of his discovery there, while conducting an empirical study of all the economic institutions within a given society, that the other three categories were insufficient to cover every aspect.¹⁸ Householding constitutes an anomaly, inasmuch as it represents the economic aspect of a fundamental social unit, whereas the other categories refer to the organization of economic relations

¹³ Cf. Humphreys, 160. In an article published in 1970 (reprinted in Humphreys, 136–58, here 137), Humphreys nevertheless argues for an analytical separation of 'society' and 'economy', or of traditional and 'modern' elements in the Athenian economy.

¹⁴ Polanyi, *Essays*, 149, 151; M. I. Finley, 'Anthropology and the Classics', in id., *The Use and Abuse of History* (1975), 117 criticized this conversion of R. Thurnwald's exchange types into a system of integration. For further criticism see Cartledge, in *Trade*, 6 n. 15.

¹⁵ Dalton and Humphreys use the specification 'market' to denote the meaning of Polanyi's term 'exchange' as being connected to the existence of the market.

¹⁶ K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (1944), 53.

¹⁷ K. Polanyi, *Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis of an Archaic Economy* (1966), 77 ff.; cf. also Polanyi, *Essays*, 307 f.

¹⁸ Cf. Humphreys, 64 f.

between units.¹⁹ However, it was precisely these group relationships which aroused Polanyi's greatest interest.

Polanyi's patterns of integration are intended to indicate the basic structure by means of which an economy achieves unity and stability—in other words, how it organizes the mutual dependence and integration of its component parts.²⁰ Polanyi emphasizes that it is not the intention of his patterns of integration to portray any stages of historical development. At this point it is particularly important to remember that we are dealing with models based upon ideal-type conceptions. It is quite possible that other forms occur, subordinated to the particular dominant type, so that the relevant dominant type offers no classification of the society and its economic system in its entirety. It is true that Polanyi, in outlining his theory, stresses the coexistence of particular patterns of integration in *Trade and Market*.²¹ However, the actual portrayal of different societies in his work describes the incompatibility of types existing alongside each other, while the depiction of the economy that follows would seem to suggest that only one type of economic organization existed.²² It is this inconsistency, caused by a failure to perceive that the patterns of integration are no more than ideal-types, that has led to the patterns of integration being classified as types of social structures.

In his discussion of *Trade and Market*, Smelser²³ modified Polanyi's three patterns of integration, subdividing redistribution into a redistributive system, in the strict sense of the expression, and a system in which the collection of goods serves the 'mobilization'—the word he uses to characterize this pattern—of resources for the ruling class. This four-part division was undertaken in order to facilitate the combination of Polanyi's patterns with Parsons's functional subsystems of society. The result is that a particular social structure is assigned to each pattern of integration.²⁴

Despite assertions to the contrary, I am convinced that this classification had already been suggested by Polanyi himself in his own formulations. On the one hand, he emphasizes how difficult it is to determine the dominant pattern of integration, and that it is therefore impossible to undertake a classification of any economy that is to be found empirically. On the other

¹⁹ In *Essays*, 307 f., Polanyi subordinates 'householding' to redistribution in calling it redistribution on a small scale. For further criticism cf. Nippel, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 10 f.

²⁰ G. Dalton, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 92, changed Polanyi's term 'patterns of integration' into 'modes of transaction'. This puts more emphasis on Polanyi's interest in distribution and exchange of goods instead of production. This emphasis was heavily criticized by Marxists, cf. Cartledge, in *Trade*, 6.

²¹ Polanyi, *Essays*, 149; cf. 309, too.

²² Cf. Humphreys, 67.

²³ N. J. Smelser, *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 7 (1958/59), 173–82.

²⁴ Cf. Humphreys, 65 f.

hand, he determines the dominant form of integration according to how the distribution of land and labour is embedded in the society.²⁵ From this, however, classifications of a society's economy can be derived and have been employed in a combination of the patterns of integration with such historical and sociopolitical divisions of societies as tribal, primitive, archaic, and modern.²⁶

3. ANALYSIS OF THE INSTITUTIONS

Polanyi suggested that the precise determination of a society's economy would require an analysis of three fundamental institutions: money uses, [external] trade,²⁷ and market elements. Such an analysis should provide those concepts which serve to shed light upon the relationships in which the economy is embedded.²⁸ By 'analysis' I understand the description on the basis of observation of an object's behaviour, along with the determination of rules governing its behaviour.

Polanyi successfully demonstrated that money, trade, and market elements also have their place in societies where no market economy exists. He emphasized that—unlike in market economies—they can develop and exist independently of each other. Accordingly, evidence of trade should not necessarily lead to the assumption of the availability of markets, nor the use of a form of money to the existence of [external] trade and markets.²⁹ For this reason, these three institutions should be analysed separately.

a. Money uses³⁰

The substantive definition of money must be established independently of the existence of a market economy, under which conditions money can be defined as a generally valid means of exchange, as 'all-purpose money'. The substantive definition of money corresponds to the availability of quantifiable objects such as serve as standards of value, payment, and/or means of exchange.

Money used as a standard of value or unit of account serves particular purposes, such as those encountered in a trading situation or when dealing with bulk goods, requiring the equation of quantities of goods of differing

²⁵ Polanyi, *Essays*, 155.

²⁶ Cf. J. Gledhill and M. Larsen, in *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology*, ed. C. Renfrew *et al.* (1982), 198.

²⁷ Polanyi's use of 'trade' usually means foreign or external trade, i.e. long-distance exchange taking place between units of different societies.

²⁸ Polanyi, *Essays*, 120; cf. Pearson, in *TM*, 10.

²⁹ Polanyi, *Essays*, 157 f.

³⁰ Cf. Polanyi, *Essays*, 166–9, 175–203.

natures. This meaning of money is found principally in redistributive systems.

Payment is the fulfilling of obligations in such a way that quantifiable objects change hands. However, these articles must serve the fulfilment of more than one obligation to qualify as means of payment. This form of money is generally encountered within the context of tribal societies.

The need for money as a means of exchange has its roots in direct exchange. However, Polanyi emphasized that it is a question not exclusively of casual exchange transactions in economies organized on a market basis, but also of organized, external trading, found in the 'ports of trade'. We are concerned in respect to this type of money with articles serving particular aims, and Polanyi accordingly labelled this type of premodern money 'special-purpose money'. Dalton³¹ divided this kind of money into two sub-classes on the basis of the situations in which it is used: primitive money, used in the context of trade in the market-place, i.e. for the acquisition of foodstuffs, tools, or luxury items, whereas work, land, and livelihood are distributed in some other way than one involving the use of primitive money; and primitive valuables, such as cannot be anonymously exchanged and are hierarchically classified, therefore remaining in a particular sphere of prestige, their circulation occurring only within a closed circle.

*b. External trade*³²

According to the substantive understanding of economy, external trade signifies a peaceful method of acquiring goods not available locally. However, it differs from hunting, robbery, plundering, and collecting tribute, in that it displays a two-sidedness of movement, the goods of one group being exchanged for those of the other group. Furthermore, this trade assumes a fairly regular character.

Within the formal understanding of economy, on the other hand, trade is seen as the movement of goods through a market. Goods are produced for a market, becoming commodities as potential objects of trade. The movement of commodities is controlled by price,³³ making every instance of external trade an instance of market trade.

Polanyi suggests that a more precise determination of the significance of trade within a society would require (1) a study of the persons conducting the trade, and (2) an analysis of the organizations of trade.

³¹ Dalton, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 97 f.

³² Cf. Polanyi, *Essays*, 158–66.

³³ Understood as market price in its formal meaning. Polanyi generally used the substantive term 'equivalency'.

(1) The persons involved in trade can be considered with respect to their motives for doing so. This can be for reasons of status, the trader—or more precisely in this context, the exchange agent—acting on behalf of the society from which he comes. Alternatively, it may be a question of interest in profit, the trader being induced to participate in trade for reasons relating to the pursuit of personal gain. Polanyi³⁴ includes an interesting observation in remarking that those participating in exchange transactions for reasons of duty and honour become rich, whereas those engaging in trade out of interest in personal profit remain poor. This he takes as an indication of the disdain in which the pursuit of profit was held in archaic societies.

In addition to the question of his motives, the trader can also be considered with respect to his status and standard of living within his particular society. In the case of archaic societies, such traders were found only at the top or at the bottom of the social ladder. The former belonged to the ruling system, while the latter earned their living by transporting goods. There were no 'middle-class' traders. At Athens, traders were often metics, who did not belong to the citizenry, whereas landowners looked down upon the traders. That this was so with respect to all Greek poleis can be disputed.

If one considers the phenomenon of the trader from a historical perspective, one finds three types of trader, according to Polanyi: the *tamkarum*; the metic, or resident alien; and the foreigner. Polanyi sees the *tamkarum* as an official conducting trade on behalf of the state, a view, however, which is not undisputed in the field of Near Eastern studies.³⁵ He may be considered the earliest type of trader. According to Polanyi, the metic is to be found as a trader in Athens and other Greek poleis, the prototype in the Hellenistic period of the Greek-speaking trader and member of the 'middle class', a view perhaps derived from Rostovtzeff. The third type of trader, the foreigner, transports goods using foreign crews on foreign ships, and does not belong to the societies with which he comes into contact for purposes of exchange.

Thirdly, the trader can be considered from the ethnological viewpoint. The aforementioned foreigners usually belong to so-called 'trading peoples'; either they earn their living completely from the carrying out of trading ventures, or a large part of their population periodically embarks upon such ventures. The Phoenicians, Aeginetans, and Phocaeans belong in one way or another to this group of trading peoples.

³⁴ Polanyi, *Essays*, 160; Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 84.

³⁵ Cf. Gledhill and Larsen, *op. cit.*, 205 f.; J. Renger, in *Circulation of Goods in Non-Palatial Context in the Ancient Near East*, *Incunabula Graeca* 82, 1984, 82; Humphreys, 56 f.

(2) A survey of the organization of trade must consider the goods transported, the distance to be covered, and the difficulties involved in transport and trade, be they political or ecological in nature. For this reason, the trading that took place under premodern conditions was most of the time only concerned with the acquisition of quite specific goods, there being no 'general' trade. This factor should be taken into consideration, above all when one seeks to understand the institutions of trade. Trading ventures were primarily sporadic undertakings aimed at the acquisition of particular goods for which an acute need existed.

Trade is of course also characterized by the necessity of exporting goods in return for imported goods. In accordance with the prevailing conditions in the days before the predominance of a market economy, the distribution of imported goods and the collection of those goods to be exported can come within different social competences. Collection can be carried out through tribute, taxation, or feudal dues; distribution of the imported goods can be conducted along different ways. These procedures are closely bound up in every case with the respective social structures.

Polanyi differentiates between three main kinds of trade.

1. Gift trade³⁶ links the persons coming into contact with one another through reciprocity. The organization is ceremonial in nature, requires mutual acquaintance, and is often based upon political agreements. The goods exchanged are objects of value serving as contributions to wealth, or items of prestige that remain within the social groups involved in the contact—primarily the elite.

2. Administered trade³⁷ is based upon a relationship regulated by a treaty of a more or less formal nature. Trade proceeds along channels supervised by the government; accordingly, this form of trade presupposes stable ruling systems. Trade organization is regulated by administrative methods, such as the fixing of equivalents and the inspection of goods and persons. The institution in which this form of external trade is to be found is that of the 'port of trade'. Administered trade is usually bound up with redistributively organized economies, owing to the need for stable political systems.

3. In the case of market trade, the quantity of goods traded—in this context, commodities—is more or less unlimited; organization follows the price mechanism of supply and demand. Under these conditions, work, money, credit, and real estate all become trading commodities.

³⁶ Cf. M. Mauss, *The Gift* (1990).

³⁷ Cf. A. Leeds, in *Proc. of the 1961 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, 42 f., n. 9.

c. *Market elements*³⁸

From the formal perspective, the market is the locus of trade. Market exchange is the decisive economic institution. Here, too, the presupposition is that trade must take the form of market exchange.

If one takes the substantive definition as one's basis, however, markets and trade have characteristics such as render them independent of each other. Internal trade—that occurring within a society—may be defined substantively as the movement of goods between various persons for the purpose of reciprocal acquisition. This kind of trade takes place in accordance with a trading 'rate' that is either fixed beforehand or must first be negotiated.³⁹

The most suitable method for a successful analysis of the multitude of phenomena embraced by the term of 'market', together with those conventional concepts that blur our understanding of these institutions, is the examination of market elements. We are concerned here in the first place with 'supply crowds' and 'demand crowds'. These are defined as gatherings of persons seeking to sell and/or acquire goods in exchange for others, and may appear independently of each other. Their existence presupposes a division of labour within the society, specialists having to acquire from others by means of internal exchange whatever they themselves are no longer able to produce. Another element to be mentioned here is the standard of trade rate, the equivalent, enabling one to differentiate between markets with set prices and those where the prices are freely negotiable. Strictly speaking, competition only occurs within the context of those markets where prices are negotiated.⁴⁰ Further market elements include the market-place, the scene of internal exchange; the presence of goods; and appropriate customs and laws. This concept of market elements renders Polanyi's analysis of the institutions more flexible, since one is thereby enabled to discover traces—even in societies not organized along market-economy lines—of a market in or through which internal exchange is

³⁸ Cf. Polanyi, *Essays*, 169–73; Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 123–42. Renger, *op.cit.*, 46f., believes that Polanyi had taken up the concept of market elements only towards the end of his life. According to Pearson, Introduction to Polanyi, *Livelihood*, xxvii most of the work on this posthumously published book had been done in the 1950s. However, the market elements already appear in *TM*, 1957.

³⁹ Humphreys, 49f., points out that Polanyi was probably wrong in regarding fixed prices as a major difference between primitive and modern markets. According to Humphreys the major distinction between the modern economy and that of earlier or less developed societies is that exchange prices in the latter, whether fixed or bargained, have little connection with production decisions.

⁴⁰ Humphreys, 50, proposes a psychological or cultural-anthropological study of attitudes toward market transactions and of the relation of haggling to other competitive or agonistic culture traits. Another important point raised by Humphreys is that selling in the market may in many societies be regarded more as the provision of a service than as an entrepreneurial activity.

conducted, while avoiding the danger of immediately inferring the presence of a market economy.

A study of the origins of the market institutions reveals two separate developments.⁴¹ The first of these is to be found within the society, and can be traced in two different forms. The *agora*-type market-place is encountered in primitive and peasant communities, where fresh or cooked foodstuffs are exchanged in a local market. It serves the local population, supplying their needs as to food and consumer goods.

It is within this same context that Polanyi⁴² examines market-places erected on a temporary basis outside a town to supply the requirements of soldiers, although the town in question does not belong to a redistributive system. This type of market-place reveals similarities with the 'port of trade', in that here too trade is based upon contractual arrangements, and excludes the foreigner from the town's territory. In my opinion, it would be more appropriate to deal with this form of market-place under the concept of the 'port of trade', especially since it is the intention that foreigners be excluded, something indicating external trade. However, the great difference in comparison with the model of the 'port of trade' lies in the fact that this market-place cannot be seen as an institution of a redistributive system.

Economies organized on a redistributive basis usually maintain a local market-place outside the temple, the palace or the town, near the 'gates'.⁴³ Goods are stored here and exchanged against established equivalents. The *bazaar* was a covered market-place where goods—predominantly those of craftsmen—were traded. The craftsmen were foreigners, and saw to the trading themselves. Following the decline of the storage system, the *bazaar* also took over the function of the local foodstuffs market.

The second development of a market-place, that outside the society, is bound up with the long-distance acquisition of goods through external trade.⁴⁴ This development preceded that of internal trade—indeed, external trade occurred before internal, and the use of money as a means of exchange has its roots in external trade.⁴⁵ The locus where external trade under pre-market economy conditions took place is described by Polanyi⁴⁶ as the 'port of trade'.

⁴¹ Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 126.

⁴² Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 127–34.

⁴³ Cf. Renger, *op.cit.*, 47.

⁴⁴ Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 126.

⁴⁵ Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 78, referring to Max Weber and R. Thurnwald. The same argument can already be found in K. Marx, *Einleitung zu den Grundrissen der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (1983) (MEW, 42), 37.

⁴⁶ Polanyi, *Essays*, 238.

4. THE 'PORT OF TRADE'

We are concerned in respect of the model of the 'port of trade' with a Weberian ideal-type; accordingly, there can be no question here of giving an exact definition of the phenomenon. Rather, the attempt will be made to characterize the institution of the 'port of trade' by listing certain features which previous research has proved to be relevant. This was the procedure adopted by Polanyi himself when attempting in 1963 to outline the model on the basis of various studies.⁴⁷

Since a model must be developed empirically and inductively, as is demanded of ideal-types, its material basis is of crucial significance. Yet it is precisely the material basis which is disputed with regard to the Polanyian ideas. The cases presented in *Trade and Market*—Rosemary Arnold's study of Whydah on the Guinean coast, that by Anne M. Chapman of 'ports of trade' in Mesoamerica, and that by Robert B. Revere on 'ports of trade' in the eastern Mediterranean, the earliest publications to work with this concept—have meanwhile seen their basic approach called into question and have been overtaken by more recent data. Nevertheless, the model of the 'port of trade' as a heuristic instrument has fulfilled its purpose, since it has given rise to studies in the course of which many trading centres from the most varied cultures have been examined under this aspect, resulting in the discovery of both similarities and differences. Unfortunately, it has often been the case that the modifications carried out in these studies have no longer been based exclusively upon Polanyi's anthropological economic theory, the integral component of which is the model of the 'port of trade'.⁴⁸

However, this model has to be seen in the context of Polanyi's other concepts; accordingly, it is essential to enquire in each case as to the background, the political and economic structures, of the respective trading

⁴⁷ K. Polanyi, 'Ports of Trade in Early Societies', *The Journal of Economic History* 23, 1963, 30–45; reprinted in Polanyi, *Essays*, 238–60. These studies were undertaken by participants of Polanyi's interdisciplinary seminars at Columbia University in the 1950s. They were published in 'Trade and Market in the Early Empires' in 1957. Cf. also the study by A. Leeds, 'The Port-of-Trade in Pre-European India as an Ecological and Evolutionary Type', *Proc. of the 1961 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, 26–48.

⁴⁸ W. Rathje and J. Sabloff, 'Ancient Maya Commercial Systems: A Research Design for the Island of Cozumel, Mexico', *World Archaeology* 5, 1973, 221–31, used a too modernistic approach in regarding the accumulation of capital inside the 'port of trade' as characteristic. J. Sabloff and D. Freidel, 'A Model of a Pre-Columbian Trading Center', in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 369–408, use the more general term of 'trading center'. R. Torrence, *NAR* 11, 1978, 108 ff., criticizes R. Hodges, 'Ports of Trade in Early Medieval Europe', *NAR* 11, 1978, 97–101 in that not all of the settlements discussed by Hodges can be regarded as 'ports of trade', because internal and external exchange were not always divided.

partners. Polanyi⁴⁹ regarded the economic institution of the 'port of trade'—a neutral checkpoint facilitating exchange under pre-market economy conditions—as a functional alternative to market institutions. It guaranteed that traders could go about their business with no fear of danger; that foreigners, for their part, did not become a danger for the hinterland; and that competition and rivalry played a minor role in trading.

Polanyi⁵⁰ explicitly links the 'port of trade' with administered trade, the most important institution of which it represents. It is important, however, not to underestimate its non-economic functions, since the 'port of trade' also serves as a means of regulating other cultural contacts or of preventing espionage, or else as the locus of the administration of international justice.

Unlike a hypothesis, a conceptual model cannot be falsified in the face of reality, although it can be developed further in the light of advancing knowledge. It would therefore appear sensible, before continuing to work with the 'port of trade' model, to set out a frame upon which both the study undertaken here and further studies of an interdisciplinary nature can be based.

In view of recent research, the following aspects should be taken into consideration when conducting a comparative analysis of possible 'ports of trade'.

1. *Geographical situation.* For Polanyi,⁵¹ one condition for a 'port of trade' was a seaside or riverbank location, one of such a nature that favourable geographical conditions would aid further transport on land. However, he did not exclude the possibility of a 'quasi port of trade' on the border between two ecologically different regions,⁵² especially on the edge of a desert, the latter to be seen as the sea's *alter ego*. This point will presumably have played a role in the case of the majority of trading centres—understood here in the most general sense—and can only be seen as a necessary not a sufficient condition for the existence of a 'port of trade'. However, it is the political geography that determines a 'port of trade', since the fact that a 'port of trade' lies on the margin of a controlled territory seems to be one of its most important features.

The term 'port of trade' is used to describe not only those settlements with isolated locations but also settlements which, while lying outside the town walls or isolated from the actual municipal area, are nonetheless in direct contact with it.⁵³ Examples of this are the classical *emporion* as the

⁴⁹ Polanyi, *Essays*, 238; cf. Humphreys, 53–7; G. Dalton, *NAR* 11, 1978, 102 f.

⁵⁰ Polanyi, *Essays*, 165 (1957); Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 95; cf. the slightly different version according to a MS March 1951, ed. G. Dalton, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 133–54; esp. 152.

⁵¹ Polanyi, *Essays*, 239.

⁵² Cf. Leeds, *op.cit.*, 27.

⁵³ Cf. Dalton, *NAR* 11, 1978, 105 for African examples with literature.

harbour area of a polis,⁵⁴ the Assyrian *karum*,⁵⁵ and the mediaeval *portus*,⁵⁶ to mention but three. This kind is probably specific to societies in which the town was the centre of political power.

2. *Separation from the hinterland.* Polanyi⁵⁷ emphasized the extent to which the neutrality of the 'port of trade' was an important condition for its existence. However, as a primary device of administered trade, the 'port of trade' cannot be neutral to the state providing it. But in following his assumption that the 'port of trade' had developed from the prehistoric *empóron* as defined by Lehmann-Hartleben,⁵⁸ who for his part stressed the neutrality of the locus of exchange, which is surrounded by a low stone wall, Polanyi did not see this inconsistency which can only be solved in assuming a different type of 'port of trade'. There are *empória* lying in regions without an administrative power in the hinterland, and outside the Mediterranean area, such places may be encountered in the northern European *wik*.⁵⁹

What is important to the device of administered trade is the separation of external long-distance trade and local exchange which Polanyi⁶⁰ regarded as one of the most important prerequisites for the existence of a 'port of trade'. Therefore to talk about the integration of a 'port of trade' with the hinterland by considering the distribution of the goods within the adjoining regions, and thereby the integration of the 'port of trade' with the internal exchange framework, would contradict Polanyi's approach. However, this point is playing an increasingly frequent role⁶¹ in studies involving the alternative models of the 'entrepôt',⁶² the 'solar central-place',⁶³ and in particular the 'gateway community'.⁶⁴ It is difficult to describe them

⁵⁴ Cf. Polanyi, *Essays*, 244. For the two different meanings of *empóron* see IV. 3 below.

⁵⁵ Cf. Gledhill and Larsen, in *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology*, ed. C. Renfrew et al. (1982), 206 ff.

⁵⁶ Polanyi, *Essays*, 245 f. argued against its qualification as a 'port of trade'.

⁵⁷ Polanyi, *Essays*, 238 f., 243 ff.; cf. Revere, in *TM*, 51 f.

⁵⁸ Lehmann-Hartleben, 31.

⁵⁹ Cf. H. Jahnkun, 'Die frühmittelalterlichen Seehandelsplätze im Nord- und Ostseeraum', in *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens*. Vorträge und Forschungen iv (1958), 451–98.

⁶⁰ Cf. Humphreys, 54.

⁶¹ Sabloff and Freidel, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 369–408 do not take the model of the 'port of trade' in its strict sense but scrutinize more generally 'trading centers' in their context.

⁶² Cf. Hodges, *NAR* 11, 1978, 97 f., 116.

⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, 55–9. Found in tribal societies they seem to function as centres of accumulative consumption.

⁶⁴ K. G. Hirth, 'Interregional Trade and the Formation of Prehistoric Gateway Communities', *American Antiquity* 43, 1978, 35–45, takes this model as oppositional to the 'central place'. Hodges, 42–52, 54, points out that 'gateway communities' are an outcome of the mode of production of a developed tribal society. B. Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction* (1988), 5f. On page 200 he fuses the 'port of trade' and the 'gateway community' into one concept.

as true alternatives to the 'port of trade', partly because they emphasize precisely the existence of those markets that Polanyi rejected, partly since they perform no economic function with regard to external exchange, and partly because they explicitly link external exchange to internal exchange.

3. *The political and economic structures of trading partners.* Since a 'port of trade' has no meaning unless integrated into the administered trade structure, it is essential also to consider the background of its trading partners. Polanyi⁶⁵ saw the 'port of trade' as a neutral checkpoint—or interface—between two societies of differing economic organization. This is probably the conclusion drawn from the studies conducted in connection with Whydah, which functioned as a checkpoint for the kingdom of Dahomey, protecting its economic system from the influence of the European market economy.⁶⁶ The 'port of trade' must often have been an instrument of passive trade, a state guaranteeing that foreign traders with commodities enter its land, albeit under conditions of strict supervision, without itself becoming active. In guaranteeing the inflow of prestige items, it could be assured of the preservation of its elite.⁶⁷

4. *Form of foundation.* As an institution of administered trade, it would appear an essential condition that some ceremonial act of authorization or agreement exist. While it is not always possible to prove this in certain individual cases, its absence could also indicate the temporary nature of a settlement. It was necessary to secure safety through such agreements with those powers controlling the coast and the hinterland. In most cases of permanent 'ports of trade', divine protection was also present, in the form of temples or cults inside the 'port of trade'.⁶⁸

5. *Administration of the 'port of trade'.* Polanyi⁶⁹ regarded the 'port of trade' as principally an instrument of administered trade, one thereby avoiding market mechanisms. Hence for him, price regulation constituted the most important administrative task. The state operating the 'port of trade' as an institution of its external trade—and usually also combining it with fiscal interests⁷⁰—could perform these administrative duties via the state's

⁶⁵ Cf. Humphreys, 53.

⁶⁶ Cf. R. Arnold, 'Separation of Trade and Market: Great Market of Whydah', in *TM*, 154–76; Dalton, *NAR* 11, 1978, 104 f.

⁶⁷ Leeds, 'The Port-of-Trade in Pre-European India as an Ecological and Evolutionary Type', *Proc. of the 1961 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, 40 ff., connects the existence of a 'port of trade' with the formation of elites within a society.

⁶⁸ Cf. Arnold in *TM*, 166, for ritual practice in Whydah.

⁶⁹ Polanyi, *Essays*, 165; cf. Chapman, in *TM*, 116; Leeds, *op.cit.*, 27f.

⁷⁰ Cf. Arnold, in *TM*, 159, for Dahomey gaining control over Whydah.

officials.⁷¹ However, matters concerning inhabitants were often delegated to representatives of these; the *prostatai tou emporiou* in Naukratis would be an example of this. The type of 'port of trade', in principle self-contained, tolerated by hinterland states or communities such as Al Mina, Ugarit,⁷² and Whydah prior to 1727,⁷³ must surely have possessed an administration of its own. It is particularly in this connection, however, that the political and economic structures of the respective trading partners should be taken into consideration, since the internal organization of the 'port of trade' was dependent upon the social context, of which long-distance trading was an integral part.⁷⁴

6. *Infrastructure.* We are concerned here with the question of whether such elements as storage facilities, quays for ships, and accommodation facilities can be found. However, one must take into consideration in this context the fact that there were not only permanent 'ports of trade' but also temporary ones, such as Gásar, Eyrar and Hvítárvellir in Iceland.⁷⁵ The question of possible production should be mentioned here, since goods were manufactured in certain 'ports of trade'. The question as to whether this production was for local use or intended for long-distance trading must be established by studying the particular case in question. The existence of a mint peculiar to the 'port of trade' provides information concerning the extent of autonomy with regard to, or dependence upon, another power.⁷⁶ A market-place within the 'port of trade'⁷⁷ will presumably have supplied the needs of the resident population, and will not itself have been the locus of long-distance trade.⁷⁸

7. *Population structure.* Studies have revealed that the 'port of trade' was populated either foremost by members of the indigenous people, working there as officials and labourers, as was the case with Whydah⁷⁹ and in Indian 'ports of trade',⁸⁰ or else by foreigners, for which Naukratis provides an

⁷¹ e.g. Assyrian agents of the *karum*. Cf. Arnold, in *TM*, 167, for jurisdiction by the king of Dahomey.

⁷² Cf. R. B. Revere, in *TM*, 53f.

⁷³ Cf. Arnold, in *TM*, 155.

⁷⁴ Cf. Revere, in *TM*, 52.

⁷⁵ H. Þorláksson, *NAR* 11, 1978, 112–14; cf. Hodges, *NAR* 11, 1978, 100. Hodges at pp. 44 f. treats them as 'gateway communities' type A.

⁷⁶ e.g. Hamwih, the Anglo-Saxon Southampton, cf. Hodges, *NAR* 11, 1978, 98.

⁷⁷ Polanyi, *Essays*, 244, looks upon the *emporion* in classical Athens as having a market-place, and at 247 upon the Middle American 'ports-of-trade' as without market-places. Sabloff and Freidel, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 371, doubt the existence of market-places on Cozumel, whereas Gledhill and Larsen, *op.cit.*, 217, are in favour. Cf. Arnold, in *TM*, 165, for a local market-place in Whydah where foodstuff was exchanged.

⁷⁸ Cf. Arnold, in *TM*, 177–82.

⁷⁹ Cf. Arnold, in *TM*, 165.

⁸⁰ Cf. Leeds, *op.cit.*, 31.

example. It was also possible that the inhabitants took on a group identity of their own, as in the case of the medieval *portus*.⁸¹ Therefore, a 'port of trade' is not necessarily characterized by many different peoples,⁸² although there should be evidence of cultural contacts leaving the impression of a polyglot, polyethnic, and polysocial environment.⁸³

The question as to whether the people living in a 'port of trade' were purchasers or vendors⁸⁴ must be considered against the relevant socio-economic background before one is in a position to make statements regarding their status as traders, and thus concerning the significance of the 'port of trade' for its trading partners. However, other occupations can also be established in connection with service functions in 'ports of trade'.

8. *Kinds of goods exchanged.* The question of the exchange of prestige items and/or the requirements of everyday life provides indications regarding the socio-economic background of the trading partners involved with the 'port of trade'.⁸⁵ The offer of a 'port of trade' often serves to preserve the power of the ruling elite, in that prestige items are exchanged here in a passive trading process.⁸⁶ If the 'port of trade' was linked to a redistributive system, then this locus represented the foreign trader's only possibility of acquiring such goods as grain, slaves, and metals, since these were collected by the political power and not traded in a market-place of the hinterland.⁸⁷ Polanyi stressed in particular the exchange at fixed rates, a good example of which can be seen at Kuta in Southern Bali.⁸⁸ When interpreting archaeological finds, one must always bear in mind the fact that perishable goods might have been involved, and that those objects found in the 'port of trade' were perhaps not intended for exchange with the trading partner.

9. *Non-economic functions.* In addition to its chief function as the locus of long-distance trading under pre-market economy conditions, the 'port of trade' also performed other, non-economic functions, among them religious duties as a place of lodging for pilgrims,⁸⁹ or a centre for the exchange

⁸¹ Polanyi, *Essays*, 246; H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (1956), 102f., 107f.; cf. Hodges, 80.

⁸² This criterion is obviously considered essential by H. G. Niemeyer, in *Greek Colonists and Native Population* ed. J.-P. Descœudres (1990), 485 f., who takes Toscanos on the southern coast of the Iberian peninsula as merely reminiscent of a 'port of trade', since there is only evidence of Phoenicians.

⁸³ Cf. C. Geertz, *Research in Economic Anthropology* 3, 1980, 110.

⁸⁴ To Torrence, *NAR* 11, 1978, 109 f., this criterion is decisive for her typology.

⁸⁵ Cf. Torrence, *NAR* 11, 1978, 109 for the exchange of prestige goods in Hamwih and Kaupang whereby social relationships are secured.

⁸⁶ Cf. Leeds, *op.cit.*, 28, 35 f., 42; Hodges, 49 f. for Haithabu, which secured prestige goods for the Danish elite, but Hodges uses the concept of 'gateway community'.

⁸⁷ Cf. Humphreys 56; Arnold, in *TM*, 171 f., for slave trade in Dahomey as royal monopoly.

⁸⁸ Geertz, *Research in Economic Anthropology* 3, 1980, 113 f.

⁸⁹ Cf. Sabloff and Freidel, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 371, for Cozumel.

of information. The significance of non-economic functions is a possible way of determining whether the settlement under study was indeed a 'port of trade' or whether other models—such as that of the 'solar central-place'⁹⁰—should be enlisted.

The discussion of the above points has revealed that the 'port of trade' model, if it is to be used sensibly, requires the simultaneous acceptance of Polanyi's other concepts, and especially those of the economy's embeddedness within the society in question, the absence of markets, and the separation of external and internal trade. If this is not done, then the model becomes distorted and loses its heuristic and comparative function.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Cf. Hodges, 55–9. He emphasizes their function as political and religious centres subordinating their meaning as local market-places.

⁹¹ T. J. Figueira, *AncW* 10, 1984, 15–30, rejects all Polanyian concepts for the Greek world. He considers the 'port of trade' as equivalent to the Greek *emporion*, and since this does not work out neatly, he consequently condemns the model as void.

III

Egypt under the Saite Dynasty

Only after considering the social background of the countries involved is it possible to determine whether we are indeed talking about a 'port of trade'. For this reason, we first examine Egyptian society at the time of the Saïtes, and thereafter focus attention on its Greek counterpart. It is only when this change of perspective has been undertaken that we can cease to regard Naukratis unthinkingly as a Greek colony, and can grasp fully the phenomenon that it represents.

It is primarily from Herodotus' Second Book,¹ supplemented by Egyptian and oriental sources, that we learn about the Egyptian Late Period, of which the Saite dynasty is a part. Egyptologists regard this period as somewhat peripheral, especially with respect to our particular interest, the economy; for this reason, it will occasionally be necessary to construct analogies, drawing on examples from the Middle and New Kingdoms. It can be assumed that the picture will have appeared somewhat different in the so-called Intermediate Periods, which are thus rendered invalid for purposes of comparison, the lack of strong central administration leading to a loss of influence on the part of the centres of redistribution.

I. EGYPTIAN SOCIETY AND ECONOMY AS A REDISTRIBUTIVE SYSTEM

According to Polanyi, the dominant pattern of integration is determined by the manner in which land and work are allocated. The prevalent social and economic system in Egypt is characterized principally by redistribution, although a closer examination results in a more differentiated view.² Agriculture, the basis of every pre-industrial economy, functions in Egypt according to a system of instructions and quota calculations. Taxes and dues are used to support the court and the bureaucracy, but are also redistributed

¹ Commentaries may be found in H. de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* (1951); Lloyd *com.*; cf. Lloyd, *Historia* 37, 1988, 22–53.

² Cf. J. Janssen, *GM* 48, 1981, 59–77; id., *JEA* 68, 1982, 253. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 232–60 examines the economic conditions in Egypt within the context of a detailed consideration of Polanyi's approach.

to the producers,³ who thereby participate in Egypt's 'surplus society'.⁴ The bureaucracy⁵ is maintained by the producers, but simultaneously ensures that the system continues to function, thereby setting itself up as the ruling class. The desire for social prestige is typical of this elite, and finds expression in titles, dress, and the cult of the dead.⁶

In principle, all land in ancient Egypt belonged to the Pharaoh; however, it is possible to distinguish two forms of land ownership.⁷ The first involves those domains the management of which is supervised by a state or temple official.⁸ The output flows directly to the Pharaoh's palace or the temple, which for their part supply the workers with food. The second is concerned with what can be termed the 'fief': the land is allocated for management to a person with particular duties, such as military service. The land's beneficiary was required to deliver regular dues, although these would probably have been from only a part of his 'fief'. We can say with certainty for the Late Period that a common Egyptian could also lease a piece of land.⁹ This land would appear to have been inheritable, and possibly even transferable, despite its never—at least theoretically—being private property.¹⁰

The process whereby goods and services were collected and redistributed is documented by written sources,¹¹ since the state boasted exact book-keeping. However, it is impossible to determine precisely the extent to which the redistributive system actually covered the entire economic activity of Egyptian society.¹² It appears quite likely that a subsistence economy existed alongside the redistributive system, one perhaps best described by Polanyi's term of 'householding'.¹³ This enabled internal, reciprocal exchange from neighbour to neighbour¹⁴ of those surpluses that were not centrally collected.

³ Cf. Janssen, *GM*, 48, 1981, 71, diagram II.

⁴ Used to differentiate from a society near subsistence level; cf. S. Morenz, *Prestige-Wirtschaft im alten Ägypten* (1969), 13 f. n. 22; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 259.

⁵ Cf. A. B. Lloyd, *The Late Period, 664–323 BC*, in *Ancient Egypt*, 331–7, for administration.

⁶ Cf. Morenz, *op.cit.*, 15–20.

⁷ J. Janssen, *Studien zur alt-ägyptischen Kultur* 3, 1975, 142 ff. Morenz, *op.cit.*, 21, does not believe in the possibility of such a distinction. Cf. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 327 f.

⁸ The temples are considered only as part of the overall redistributive system; cf. Janssen *op.cit.*, 184, also Morenz, *op.cit.*, 29–38, for the combination of Pharaoh and temple.

⁹ Cf. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 310 f.

¹⁰ In the Hekanakhte papers from the end of the First Intermediate Period (T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (1962); cf. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 240), one can observe how domains which had almost become private property were dealt with. However, the Intermediate Periods are regarded as timespans of greater freedom for the individual.

¹¹ Janssen, *op.cit.*, 166–70, 183 f.; Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 325 f.

¹² Janssen, *op.cit.*, 184.

¹³ Cf. Janssen, *GM* 48, 1981, 68, diagram I.

¹⁴ Cf. Janssen, *JEA* 68, 1982, 253–8.

Internal exchange also took place in local market-places,¹⁵ which could well have been located on the banks of the Nile. The river was *the* means of communication for more than 1,200 km., from the First Cataract near Aswan to the Mediterranean. Kemp¹⁶ speaks in this connection of 'long-distance internal trading', although we should ask whether it was in fact a matter of trade here, or rather one of transportation serving the redistributive system. However, any evaluation of the status of local markets in Egypt, together with that of the persons to be found there,¹⁷ remains uncertain: more information is required before the content of the tomb paintings which serve here as our only source can be accepted as a depiction of reality.¹⁸ Raw and cooked foodstuffs such as vegetables, fruit, bread, and drinks; craftsmen's products, such as sandals, fans, sticks with decorated knobs, pieces of furniture, pottery or metal vessels, and copper objects such as tools—all these were exchanged in the market-places. The trading of salves and oils for embalming, medical, and cosmetic purposes seems to have been especially popular.¹⁹

Herodotus mentions several times the presence of an *agora* in Egyptian towns.²⁰ He also talks of various persons, the shopkeepers (*kapēloi*) and those pursuing their business on the *agora* (*agoraioi*),²¹ such as would be connected in Greece with exchange on the market-place. However, Herodotus' observations and means of description should not be inferred back to the reality of seventh- and sixth-century Egypt. Kemp translates the Egyptian word *shuty* as 'trader', albeit pointing out that the social status of such people—ranging from slave-owner to someone himself the slave of another—while impossible to determine uniformly, should be seen as low: nobody, he states, would have used the term as a title.²² Be that as it may, the *shuty* was no self-employed merchant but acted as the agent of a temple or an official of the Pharaoh.

Market-place activity was supervised by officials, whose function according to Altenmüller²³ was to prevent the withdrawal of products and raw materials from the ownership of the state and the production process.

¹⁵ J. Renger, in *Circulation of Goods in Non-Palatial Context in the Ancient Near East*, *Incunabula Graeca* 82, 1984, 52–8, stresses the importance of local market-places; cf. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 253 ff. with fig. 86.

¹⁶ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 258.

¹⁷ Cf. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 254 f.

¹⁸ Cf. Lloyd *com.* 2. 35; H. Altenmüller, in *LdÄ* iii, s.v. 'Markt', cols. 1191 f., but too modernistic in his interpretation; Janssen, *Studien zur alt-ägyptischen Kultur* 3, 1975, 184 f.

¹⁹ Altenmüller, in *LdÄ* iii, cols. 1192 f.

²⁰ Hdt. 2. 35, 39, 138.

²¹ Hdt. 2. 141, 164; cf. Lloyd *com.* introduction to 2. 164–8.

²² Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 257 ff.

²³ Altenmüller, in *LdÄ* iii, col. 1192.

Taking Polanyi's approach as a basis, however, it is possible to assume that the strict supervision served as a means of fixing equivalents, something that can also be deduced from Rostovtzeff's²⁴ remarks in connection with the Ptolemaic period. Kemp²⁵ gives a description of barter in equivalents; however, he disputes their being set by state organs. Not until the fourth century, towards the end of the Late Period, were the first attempts made to introduce Egyptian coinage, with pieces of silver actually being stamped with hieroglyphs and demotic symbols.²⁶

These local market-places can have had only a peripheral position within the redistributive system, although their significance is believed to have increased in times when the state system of distribution had broken down, such as in the First Intermediate Period (2180–2050 BC).²⁷ Local markets would appear to have existed in Persian times, perhaps with a Greek presence.²⁸

How did Egypt organize its external trade?²⁹ The Pharaoh, who called himself Lord of the Earth, naturally favoured the interpretation of imported items as tribute.³⁰ Our sources with regard to these 'imports' are wall-paintings depicting the so-called tribute-bearers,³¹ which supply us with more information regarding the imported objects than those items exchanged for them. On the whole, Egypt should be seen as autarkic with respect to essential items. In the time of the New Kingdom, imported commodities, such as wood from Lebanon, weapons from Crete and Syria, carpets from Crete, wine from Palestine, sesame and olive oil from Mycenaean Greece, and slaves from the African interior, all constituted prestige items.³²

²⁴ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (21953), 1274.

²⁵ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 248 ff.

²⁶ Cf. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 328 f.; J. W. Curtis, *JEA* 43, 1957, 71–6; F. Daumas, *MEFRA* 89, 1977, 425–40; H. Nicolet-Pierre, *BCH* suppl. 14, 1986, 372 ff.; T. V. Buttrey, *Quaderni Ticinesi* 10, 1981, 77 fig. 2; id., in *Actes du 9^e congrès intern. de numismatique, Bern 1979*, i (1982), 137–40, pl. 21.

²⁷ Altenmüller, in *LdÄ* iii, col. 1194 n.1.

²⁸ Hdt. 2. 39; cf. W. Helck, in *LdÄ* ii, s.v. 'Handel', col. 945.

²⁹ Many scholars do not distinguish between internal and external exchange, but use the word 'trade' quite generally; cf. Helck, in *LdÄ* ii, cols. 943–8; Altenmüller, in *LdÄ* iii, cols. 1191–4; Renger, in *Circulation of Goods in Non-Palatial Context in the Ancient Near East*, *Incunabula Graeca* 82, 1984, 55. See also Finley's sceptical remarks in *Trade and Politics*, 26 concerning our knowledge of Egyptian trade; and J. v. Seters, *Arch. News* 8, 1979, 35–9.

³⁰ S. Morenz, *Prestige-Wirtschaft im Alten Ägypten* (1969), 24; Janssen, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 3, 1975, 163. Seters, *Arch. News* 8, 1979, 36 stresses the ambiguous terminology in Egyptian sources where the same expressions are employed for tribute, gifts, and imports.

³¹ Cf. Helck, in *LdÄ* ii, col. 946. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 246 ff. with fig. 84 gives an example of such a representation, which is interpreted as exchange between individuals, rejecting the idea of foreign trade as a royal monopoly.

³² Cf. W. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (1975), 264 f.

Our knowledge of exported objects relates primarily to presents for friendly rulers. These are likewise prestige items, such as pieces of furniture, cloth, clothing, shaving instruments, and vessels of precious metal. We know that Pharaoh Amasis sent many presents to Greek rulers and sanctuaries.³³ However, it can be assumed that many of the more valuable eighth- and seventh-century precious objects from Egypt found so frequently in Greece³⁴ arrived there not as a result of a direct exchange of presents but rather through transportation to Greece by the Phoenicians. It is also imaginable that from the seventh century on a Greek serving as a mercenary could have brought souvenirs back from Egypt, such as the Egyptian block-statue with an Archaic Greek inscription found near Priene.³⁵

Another method of acquiring goods from a distance is by expedition. Evidence is available at the time of the Saite dynasty of expeditions to Wadi Hammamet by Psammetichos I, Necho I, and Amasis, but the Persian rulers and later Pharaohs also had gold, granite, and greywacke ('schist') from there.³⁶ Regarding an Egyptian expedition to Lebanon aimed at procuring wood, we learn that the expedition took with it vessels of gold and silver, scrap silver, cloth, lentils, fish, ropes, cow-hides, and papyrus.³⁷ This would suggest that exchange was intended, in the course of which gifts of some considerable value would change hands. 'Expedition' can also signify a military operation in which booty is acquired unilaterally, it therefore being impossible to speak of an exchange. If the objects carried were not exclusively intended to supply the needs of the expedition's members, the possibility of one-sided acquisition in the case of the Lebanese expedition can presumably be excluded.

The leaders of such expeditions, whether seeking peaceful trade or the collection of dues and tribute,³⁸ are described with a somewhat modernistic term as *staatliche Außenhandelsvertreter* (official foreign-trade representatives).³⁹ In the former case, that of peaceful trade, they functioned as agents

³³ Hdt. 2. 180 (alum salt to Delphi); Hdt. 2. 182; 3. 47, *Anagraphe of Lindos* (FGrHist 532 §29) (stone or golden statues, linen corselet, phialae to Lindos); Hdt. 2. 182 (wooden statues to Samos); Hdt. 3. 39–43 (Polykrates and Amasis); Hdt. 3. 47 (linen corselet to Sparta); cf. for *θύρηξ λίνεος* Lloyd *com.* 2. 182.

³⁴ Cf. J. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca: A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area* (1930); R. B. Brown, *A Provisional Catalogue of and Commentary on Egyptian and Egyptianizing Artifacts Found on Greek Sites* (1975); Austin, 13f. n. 2 for survey of material according to find places; Boardman, *GO*³, 112 ff.

³⁵ Cf. Ç. Şahin, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 10, 1987, 1 f.; O. Masson and J. Yoyotte, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 11, 1988, 171–9. Haider 1996, 101 f. suggests that, since no traces of a hieroglyphic inscription are visible, Pedon could have ordered his own image imitating an upper-class Egyptian.

³⁶ Cf. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 329; A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (1962), 419 f. for schist.

³⁷ Cf. Helck, *op.cit.*, 264.

³⁸ Cf. R. Gundlach, in *LdÄ* ii, s.v. 'Expeditionsleiter und Expeditionswesen', cols. 62–8.

³⁹ Helck, in *LdÄ* ii, col. 945.

of the state, as middlemen⁴⁰ in an economic sphere characterized by reciprocity; in the latter case, they acted as officials of the Pharaoh, serving the redistributive system.

The Saites had to be prepared to ward off attacks from every direction, and military operations were soon restricted to the east through the expanding power of the Persians. For this reason, the Saite pharaohs were dependent upon their diplomatic skills if they were to maintain their power in an independent Egypt. The fact that they did not portray themselves as warrior-kings could also indicate how limited were the possibilities of acquiring necessary items through military operations. Within this context, their concentration upon the exchange of gifts and passive trading⁴¹ along the Egyptian border—and consequently the establishment of a 'port of trade'—is easy to understand.

A tradition of passive trading along Egypt's borders had existed since the days of the Middle Kingdom: it is known that the frontier strongholds in Upper Egypt served as locations for external trading, the commanders receiving the goods and passing them on.⁴² Egypt also used small independent states as middlemen for external trade, something known in the case of Byblos and Kerma. The latter lies above the Third Cataract, in Nubia, and Middle-Kingdom graves with many Egyptian burial objects have been found there. This led at first to the supposition that Egyptian trade-agents were buried there, but more recent interpretations tend to see the finds as from the graves of a Cushite elite with a taste for imported Egyptian articles. Kerma developed during the Second Intermediate Period into a kind of counterpart to Byblos, a small independent state outside Egypt's political borders, with a court adopting Egyptian fashions.⁴³

Egypt's external trade may be considered administered trade in that trading activities were carried out by agents of the Pharaoh, thereby proceeding through official channels, while both imports and exports were recorded.⁴⁴ However, many items were brought either as tribute or as presents, so that

⁴⁰ Cf. Janssen, *Studien zur alt-ägyptischen Kultur* 3, 1975, 163 f.

⁴¹ Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 329, stresses the fact that foreign traders were encouraged to come to Egypt. Cf. Diod. 1. 66. 8, 67. 9.

⁴² Cf. Helck, *op. cit.*, 259; Kemp, in *Ancient Egypt*, 132, 135 f. for Iqen, a fortress near Mirgissa at the second cataract; Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 329. Lloyd, 27 f. gives a translation of the Semna Stela of Sesostri III (1876–1838 BC), which can be used to interpret Iqen as matching the ideal-type of a 'port of trade'.

⁴³ Cf. Kemp, in *Ancient Egypt*, 128 f.

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, we do not have any written evidence concerning the products exchanged at Naukratis. For the time of the Persian domination, however, a very important document is preserved on the Ahiqar Scroll from Elephantine, a papyrus palimpsest containing all duties collected from Ionian and Phoenician ships during ten months of the year 475 BC. See B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, iii (1993), C3. 7; A. Yardeni, *BASOR* 293, 1994, 67–78.

Egyptian external trade is also characterized by inactivity. It thus becomes understandable that the Egyptian Pharaoh should have regarded the Greeks as welcome transporters of much-desired prestige items and made available to them a 'port of trade'.⁴⁵

2. RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND GREECE

There is little evidence for a Greek presence in Egypt prior to the seventh century BC, and almost no Geometric pottery has been found there as yet.⁴⁶ If we follow the *Odyssey*,⁴⁷ however, voyages by Greek pirates could have taken place as early as the eighth century. It is not until the seventh century that one can assume regular contacts, reflected in the increasing number of Egyptian objects found in Greece, for example, although their interpretation is not unproblematic.⁴⁸ Many of the allegedly Egyptian objects could in fact be imitations, especially since the Phoenicians, who may be regarded as the main transporters of such objects before the seventh century, particularly liked imitating Egyptian art.

However, the story of Kolaios the Samian *nauklêros*, who undertook his voyage in the early thirties of the seventh century,⁴⁹ indicates increasing direct contact, even if such voyages were in all likelihood mainly concerned with piracy and plundering. Herodotus⁵⁰ states that the Ionians and Carians, who were later to serve as mercenaries for Psammetichos I, originally came to Egypt as pirates. The Egyptian town of Rhakotis, described by Strabo⁵¹ as the precursor of Alexandria and seen as a measure against the penetration of the delta by pirates, can perhaps be dated to this time.⁵²

⁴⁵ A. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 322 calls the Greeks 'Egyptian traders'.

⁴⁶ Cf. for Mycenaean period W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jh. v. Chr.* (1995); Lloyd, 1-9; Haider, 1-47; for Homeric evidence, Austin, 11-3. Venit, *JEA* 71, 1985, 187 has one Milesian MG oinochoe frgt. from Memphis.

⁴⁷ Hom. *Od.* 14. 245 ff., 17. 424 ff. Lloyd, 11 f. places these contacts in the 8th c., Haider, 211-23, for his part to around 660/50 BC.

⁴⁸ Cf. Austin, 13; see his list 50 f. n. 2, 51 f. n. 1 for Archaic period. We may have Rhodian faience scarabs, many found in Perachora and the West, as a Graeco-Egyptian phenomenon already from the late 8th c. on.

⁴⁹ Hdt. 4. 152; cf. IV.2.b, below.

⁵⁰ Hdt. 2. 152, but see below for discussion.

⁵¹ Strab. 17. 1. 6 (C792).

⁵² Cf. Austin, 12; Haider, 105, 153 f.; Haider, 1996, 104. D. Mallet, *Les premiers établissements Grecs en Égypte* (1893), 454 f., for 26th-dynasty *ushabti*s from a necropolis where Rhakotis might have once been. S. Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten* (²1969), 68 n. 5; id., *Prestige-Wirtschaft im alten Ägypten* (1969), 51 f. n. 164 suggests that we should understand Rhakotis as a workers' camp for Alexandria, but what are we then to make of the pre-Hellenistic finds?

a. Greek mercenaries in Egypt before Amasis

Contacts take on a permanent character with the establishment of the Saite dynasty in Egypt. In seizing power, Psammetichos I (664–610 BC)⁵³ relied on Ionian and Carian mercenaries in the struggle against the Assyrians and their satellite states.⁵⁴ It is a matter of dispute whether these had come to Egypt as pirates, as said by Herodotus,⁵⁵ or were sent by the Lydian king, Gyges, following diplomatic negotiations, as reported by oriental sources,⁵⁶ and indeed whether these two groups were identical.⁵⁷ However, Herodotus' story sounds rather like a version intended to appeal to Greek taste; it may also have been passed on to him inaccurately from the Egyptian side.⁵⁸

Psammetichos I's reward to his mercenaries took the form of land for settlement (*διδόναι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι*).⁵⁹ Mercenaries were customarily rewarded with precious metals, particularly coins, the emergence of coinage being seen by many as connected with the payment of mercenaries.⁶⁰ In this case, however, Psammetichos was falling back on the Egyptian tradition of awarding land to the warrior caste, the *machimoi*,⁶¹ whose needs were thereby met and who resided there. Thus, there was no standing army in the customary sense; instead, the soldiers were called to arms whenever the necessity arose.

These allocations of land simultaneously turned the Greek mercenaries into settlers, partially integrated into the Egyptian system. This was of

⁵³ I follow R. Parker, *MDAI(K)* 15, 1957, 208–12 for the dating of rulers.

⁵⁴ Cf. Haider, 153–84 for Near Eastern sources, events, and chronology. For evidence of Carian presence see O. Masson and J. Yoyotte, *Objets Pharaoniques à inscriptions Cariennes* (1956); J. D. Ray, *JEA* 68, 1982, 181–98 for Carian inscriptions; F. Kammerzell, *Studien zu Sprache und Geschichte der Karer in Ägypten* (1993), 107–18.

⁵⁵ Hdt. 2. 152, he also mentions an oracle of Leto at Buto. Polyainos 7. 3 (*FGrHist* 665 F200) reports the oracle of Zeus Ammon, for discussion of Polyainos' source cf. Haider, 180 f. Diod. 1. 66. 12 tells us that Psammetichos had sent for (*μεταπέμπειν*) the Ionians and Carians; according to Haider, 1996, 96 n. 181, a tradition based on Hekataios of Abdera, independent of Herodotus. Cf. H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* (1933), 4.

⁵⁶ Rassam cylinder of 644 BC, which informs us of Gyges' help for Psammetichos I (D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, ii (1927), 296 f. Nr. 784–5); cf. Kaletsch, *Historia* 7, 1958, 27–9; T. G. H. James, in *CAH²* iii 2 (1991), 711.

⁵⁷ Cf. Haider, 173 with n. 85; Haider, 1996, 97 for references against this identification.

⁵⁸ Lloyd, 15 emphasizes the typically Greek structure of the oracle. Braun, in *CAH²* iii 3 (1982), 36 considers it an invention.

⁵⁹ Hdt. 2. 154; cf. Diod. 1. 67. 1; Haider, 1996, 111.

⁶⁰ Cf. C. M. Kraay, *JHS* 84, 1964, 89; R. M. Cook, *Historia* 7, 1958, 261. R. W. Wallace, *AJA* 91, 1987, 385–97 discusses the different theories on the introduction of electrum coinage, proposing a more economic explanation. On Egyptian coinage not being introduced until the 4th c. BC, see above.

⁶¹ Hdt. 2. 164–8; cf. Kienitz, 37; Austin, 18 with n. 2; Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt*, 309, for the *machimoi* of the Late Period; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 228.

course sensible, if the Pharaoh intended to continue relying on his mercenaries instead of the decaying caste of the *machimoi*.⁶² It is also true of the Saite dynasty that the warrior caste was not linked with the royal family,⁶³ with the notable exception of Amasis, who—himself a member of this caste—came to power as its leader. Accordingly, a considerable number of Greeks had already been permitted to settle in Egypt before the middle of the seventh century,⁶⁴ even if this might have been possible for the individual solely for the duration of his mercenary service. Whether they had the right to *epigamia*—intermarriage with an Egyptian—remains disputed; however, Egypt had no state regulations governing marriage, so that—at least in principle—a Greek could live with an Egyptian woman.⁶⁵

The land allocated the Greeks by Psammetichos lay on either side of the Pelusian branch of the Nile, below the town of Bubastis; the two stretches were called *Stratopeda* ('The Camps').⁶⁶ Herodotus⁶⁷ records elsewhere that Egyptian strongholds were established in Elephantine against the Cushites, in Pelusian Daphnae against the Arabs and Syrians, and in Marea against the Libyans. It is not clear whether the excavations in Tell Defenneh are in fact these *Stratopeda*,⁶⁸ although the foundation deposits of the largest building, which resembles the main building in the Great Temenos at Naukratis,⁶⁹ can be dated to the time of Psammetichos I, while a few Greek sherds from the end of the seventh century and the first quarter of the sixth century have also been found.⁷⁰ Against equating the two must be set the fact that the mass of the Greek pottery from Tell Defenneh can be dated to the reign of Amasis (570–526 BC);⁷¹ that Herodotus also differentiates between

⁶² Cf. Kienitz, 36 f.

⁶³ Cf. Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47, 1978, 28.

⁶⁴ Cf. G. P. Schaus, *JHS* 108, 1988, 110; also Hdt. 3. 26 for Samian mercenaries living in 525 BC ἐς Ὅασιν πόλιν, probably in the Khargeh Oasis, cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 159. Kammerzell, op. cit., 173–6, 180 considers the presence of Carians in the Memphite area before Amasis.

⁶⁵ Austin, 18 f. argues in favour of *epigamia*; Lloyd, 17 ff. against; but it was widespread according to Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 318. Hdt. 2. 41, 91 tells us of the ritual reservations against Greeks, rendering intermarriage doubtful, but see the late evidence of Steph. Byz., s.v. *Καρικόν*. Cf. Haider, 1996, 111.

⁶⁶ Hdt. 2. 154; Diod. 1. 67 describes them lying a little above the Pelusian mouth.

⁶⁷ Hdt. 2. 30.

⁶⁸ Petrie, in *Tanis* ii, 48, had once suggested this identification; cf. R. M. Cook, *JHS* 57, 1937, 234; Austin, 20; Boardman, *GO*³, 114 f.; Haider, 200.

⁶⁹ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 135 fig. 156. However, the building at Naukratis has now been identified with a so-called High Temple of the Ptolemaic period by B. Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 112 f. fig. 8; cf. V.3.g, below, and see Fig. 6.

⁷⁰ Cf. Venit, *Egypt*, 568: still 7th c.: A 11 FK aryballos (Brussels E 4437, *CVA* (3) pl. 8. 14); MWG II oinochoe (London BM 1888.2–8.58, *CVA* (8) 57 ii 1 fig. 13; *Tanis* ii, pl. 24, 6); 1st quarter 6th c.: LWG (London BM 1888.2–8.139, *CVA* (8) 57 ii 2; London BM 1888.2–8.86, *CVA* (8) ii Dp pl. 10. 7; London BM 1888.2–8.56g, *CVA* (8) 57 ii 3 fig. 14); B 47 Attic amphora (London BM 1888.2–8.102 = B 124, *CVA* (8) pl. 99. 5; *Tanis* ii, pl. 30. 3) and perhaps horse-head amphorae.

⁷¹ Mainly Fikellura ware from the end of the 1st quarter to the last quarter of the 6th c. BC and

Daphnae and the *Stratopeda*;⁷² and that no further stronghold has been found opposite Tell Defenneh on the other side of this branch of the Nile.⁷³ The concentration of pottery from the time of Amasis strikes one as strange, since the information we have is to the effect that Amasis had moved the Greeks from their *Stratopeda*, resettling them in Memphis.⁷⁴ It is possible, however, that soldiers were settled here again at a later date to counter the growing power of the Persians.⁷⁵ In the meantime, a survey has also discovered a large fort about 32 km. east of Tell Defenneh, on the other side of the Suez Canal, which has been identified by Eliezer Oren with the biblical Migdol.⁷⁶ Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian vessels from the sixth century BC and East Greek amphorae from Chios, Lesbos, and Samos have been found there, as have amphorae from Corinth.⁷⁷ However, given the situation of Migdol near Pelusium and Tell Defenneh—the latter lying somewhat further inland—it is possible to draw the admittedly tentative conclusion that they were indeed the *Stratopeda* mentioned by Herodotus, said to have lain on either side of the Pelusian branch of the Nile, between Bubastis and the sea.⁷⁸ The graves of Carian mercenaries, dating from Saite to early Persian times, have been found in Tell Nebesheh, somewhat further to the west of Tell Defenneh.⁷⁹

Necho II (610–595 BC), Psammetichos I's successor, must likewise have relied upon Greek mercenaries: a Greek greave and a Greek shield were found together with Egyptian furnishings among the ruins of Carchemish, where Necho suffered defeat against the Babylonians in 605 BC, possibly left there by a Greek in Egyptian service.⁸⁰ Necho's rule can be regarded as the Saite dynasty's most unfortunate period, since Egypt had completely

Clazomenian vases from around 560–525 BC were found; cf. *Tanis* ii, pls. 27–31; Rumpf, *JDAI* 1933, 60; id., *Gnomon* 1, 1925, 330; R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 47, 1933/4, 87 with n. 3; id., *JHS* 57, 1937, 229f.

⁷² Cf. Haider, 200.

⁷³ It is not at all certain that Petrie's excavations were comprehensive.

⁷⁴ Hdt. 2. 154; Diod. 1. 67. 1; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Καρυκόν*.

⁷⁵ Cf. Lloyd *com.* 2. 154.

⁷⁶ Cf. E. Oren, *BASOR* 256, 1984, 30–5, with reference to Jeremiah 44. 1 and Ezekiel 29. 10.

⁷⁷ Cf. E. Oren, 'Stratopeda—Biblical Migdol? A New Fortress of the Archaic Period in the Eastern Nile Delta', 1979, 199; id., *Explorations in the Negev and Sinai. Exhibition Catalogue*, Ben Gurion University of the Negev. Archaeological Division, October 1976; id., *BASOR* 256, 1984, 7–44; cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 134 with fig. 156.

⁷⁸ Cf. Lloyd *com.* 2. 154; Oren, *BASOR* 256, 1984, 38 equates Migdol with the *Stratopeda* alone.

⁷⁹ In *Tanis* ii, 7, 17 ff., the graves are called Cypriot; later, in *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (1932), 64, Petrie calls them Carian. Cf. Kammerzell, *Studien zu Sprache und Geschichte der Karer in Ägypten* (1993), 180; Oren, *BASOR* 256, 1984, 30, for cremation burials close to Migdol.

⁸⁰ Cf. C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, ii (1921), 123 ff.: building D; Boardman, *GO*³, 51 fig. 20, 115; Lloyd, 20f.

lost all control over the Levant by 601 BC.⁸¹ However, it is a matter of dispute whether Necho, in attempting to construct an Egyptian fleet,⁸² fell back on the assistance of Greek shipwrights,⁸³ although Herodotus⁸⁴ tells us that the hauling-machines for the ships were still visible on the site of the abandoned *Stratopeda* when he visited them.

Similarly, Psammetichos II (595–589 BC) took Greek mercenaries with him on his Ethiopian campaign against the Cushites, which can be proved by the mercenaries' inscriptions at Abu Simbel.⁸⁵ The longest of these inscriptions⁸⁶ gives details of the way in which the Egyptian army was organized at that time, being divided into two groups, the one consisting of 'those of foreign speech', the other of the Egyptians; both were commanded by Egyptians.

b. Amasis and the Greeks

According to Herodotus,⁸⁷ Amasis (570–526 BC)⁸⁸ came to power as the leader of the Egyptian *machimoi*, who had risen up against Apries (589–570 BC). Apries, like his predecessors, had depended upon Ionian and Carian mercenaries, but was defeated by Amasis and the Egyptians.⁸⁹ There is a record from the Egyptian side, on the Amasis Stela,⁹⁰ of a rebellion by Apries in the first year of Amasis' rule,⁹¹ perhaps an attempt by Apries to regain power; it passes unmentioned by Herodotus. What seems likely,

⁸¹ Cf. Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47, 1978, 20.

⁸² Hdt. 2. 159; cf. James, in *CAH²* iii 2 (1991), 720–6.

⁸³ Pace Austin, n. 2 to p. 18. Cf. Boardman, *GO³*, 115; A. B. Lloyd, *JEA* 58, 1972, 268–79, 307 f.; Lloyd, 32–8 with bibliography; id., *JHS* 95, 1975, 45–61; id., *JHS* 100, 1980, 195–8; Haider, 1996, 102; the use of Phoenician models is argued by L. Basch, *JHS* 97, 1977, 1–10; id., *JHS* 100, 1980, 198–9. See F. Meijer, *Historia* 37, 1988, 461–3, on Thuk. 1. 13. 2–4.

⁸⁴ Hdt. 2. 154; cf. 2. 159.

⁸⁵ A. Bernand and O. Masson, *REG* 70, 1957, 3–20; ML, no. 7; Boardman, *GO³*, 116 fig. 135; translation and commentary in Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 190 text 35; G. Hirschfeld's ascription to Psammetichos I in *RhM* 42, 1887, 221 ff. has been proved wrong. Cf. Hdt. 2. 161; Lloyd *com.* 2. 161. See Haider, 1996, 104–9 for fresh discussion.

⁸⁶ ML, no. 7a; cf. Lloyd, 21 f.; Kienitz, 41 f. with n. 1.

⁸⁷ Hdt. 2. 162; cf. Diod. 1. 68. 1–6.

⁸⁸ E. Edel, *GM* 29, 1978, 15, confirms Parker, *MDAI(K)* 15, 1957, 212, who dated Amasis' succession to power to 570 BC. See also A. Leahy, *JEA* 74, 1988, 187.

⁸⁹ Hdt. 2. 163, 169. Lloyd, *Historia* 37, 1988, 40, emphasizes that Herodotus' account is refuted by the Amasis Stela and that his tradition draws on pro-Amasis propaganda; cf. Lloyd *com.* 2. 163.

⁹⁰ Cf. G. Daressy, *Recueil des travaux égyptologiques et assyriologiques* 22, 1900, 1–9; for a critical but partial translation, cf. J. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv (1906) 509–12 §996–1007; Kienitz, 161–5; Edel, *GM* 29, 1978, 13–20, gives a partial translation of historical parts; Lloyd, *Historia* 37, 1988, 40 f.; Leahy, *JEA* 74, 1988, 183–99, discusses events of Amasis' first year. See Reyes, 72–6 for résumé of Oriental evidence.

⁹¹ Edel, *GM* 29, 1978, 13–20, translates the date in question as first year, against Daressy's, *op.cit.*, first reading as third year. James, in *CAH²* iii 2 (1991), 736 follows Daressy.

however, is that Amasis came to power through a *coup d'état* making use of anti-Greek feelings and the defeat of Apries by Cyrene.⁹²

The Egyptians were not xenophobic, in the sense of being prejudiced against other peoples. It was only when foreigners offended against their religious feelings that they felt themselves compelled to punish the sacrilege. In general, foreigners were easily assimilated, as may be seen from the example of Si-Amun, a Greek bearing an Egyptian name, who had himself buried following Egyptian custom in the Oasis of Siwa in the fifth century BC.⁹³ Similarly, the Carians would appear to have adapted with ease to their new home, as the Carian gravestones with Egyptian motifs in Saqqara and Abusir reveal.⁹⁴

Amasis was successful in ridding himself of the stigma of the *coup d'état* against the Saites and establishing himself in the dynasty,⁹⁵ although Herodotus records that his burial plot was situated at a slight distance from those of the other Saite rulers.⁹⁶ He also maintained the practice of using mercenaries, even forming his bodyguard against the Egyptians from Greek mercenaries.⁹⁷ It is in this context that the resettling in Memphis of the Greeks from the *Stratopeda* on the Pelusian branch of the Nile should be seen.

Amasis had lively diplomatic links with Greece, possibly in the hope of securing allies in the light of the pressure exerted by the growing power of the Persians.⁹⁸ He contributed a large quantity of alum salt for the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.⁹⁹ He formed an alliance with Cyrene, which had defeated Apries, marrying a Cyrenaean woman.¹⁰⁰ He donated two stone statues and a linen corselet to Lindos,¹⁰¹ and wooden statues to

⁹² Hdt. 2. 161; 4. 159; for Amasis initially being hostile against the Greeks, cf. R. M. Cook, *JHS* 57, 1937, 232; O. Murray, *Early Greece* (21993), 234 f.

⁹³ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 159 fig. 200; Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 316 ff.

⁹⁴ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 135ff. figs. 158 f.; Kammerzell, *op.cit.*, 119–62, for a typology of Carian stelae from Egypt.

⁹⁵ Cf. Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47, 1978, 25 f.; Amasis' subsequent propaganda is reflected in Hdt. and has misled many a historian. Hdt. 2. 172 mentions Amasis' low social background; cf. Lloyd *com.* 2. 172; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv (1906), 511, argued for relations with the royal family.

⁹⁶ Hdt. 2. 169; cf. Lloyd *com.* 2. 169. Hdt. 3. 16 sceptically retells a story narrated by Egyptians as to why Amasis was buried at the back of the chamber. See also Hdt. 3. 10; Kienitz, 57; de Meulenaere, 121 f.

⁹⁷ Hdt. 2. 154; Diod. 1. 67. 1. Lloyd, 23 n. 91 doubts this notice and ascribes it to the 'mirage of the Philhellene Amasis'.

⁹⁸ Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47, 1978, 35, very much emphasizes the pressure exerted on the Saite pharaohs by invaders.

⁹⁹ Hdt. 2. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Hdt. 2. 181. de Meulenaere, 88, 114 takes Hdt.'s story to be an *aition* for the statue of Aphrodite at Cyrene, because Ladike, Amasis' wife, is unknown in Egyptian sources. The alliance, however, is proved by a cuneiform tablet (London BM 33041), cf. Edel, *GM* 29, 1978, 14 ff.

¹⁰¹ Hdt. 2. 182; 3. 47; *Anagraphe of Lindos FGrHist* 532 §29; cf. E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, *BICS*

Samos.¹⁰² These gifts should be seen within the context of reciprocal gift exchange, establishing or consolidating social relations through gifts with economic value. In this way, Amasis could expect either such gifts in return as had economic value or else military support.¹⁰³

Herodotus also tells us of Amasis' guest-friendship with Polykrates of Samos,¹⁰⁴ until the latter turned to support Cambyses,¹⁰⁵ and with the Spartans.¹⁰⁶ It is presumably on account of Amasis' good contacts with the Greeks that Herodotus portrays him as a philhellene. The period of Amasis' rule was regarded as a time of prosperity and stability, as Herodotus' informants will presumably have told him. It was the era of the last great indigenous dynasty before the Persian conquest.¹⁰⁷

No changes in the internal structure resulted from the Persian conquest, although it is likely that the instability after Darius' reign—the western delta was particularly affected by rebellions—will have had consequences for Egypt's internal organization. External relations were determined by integration into the Persian empire, something made easier by the construction of a canal joining the Pelusian branch of the Nile to the Red Sea.¹⁰⁸ Tribute payments to the Persians will presumably have constituted no very great burden.¹⁰⁹

32, 1984, 119–30; id., *AJA* 88, 1984, 68–9. Herodotus makes a point in reporting that the gifts to Lindos were not occasioned by guest-friendship.

¹⁰² Hdt. 2. 182.

¹⁰³ Cf. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 330 f. That gifts from oriental potentates were not only received by Greek tyrants, but some went to sanctuaries, is stressed by S. Morris, in *Greece between East and West*, xvi.

¹⁰⁴ Hdt. 3. 39–43. I. König, *PP* 44, 1989, 321–40 argues against this *xenia* being an anti-Persian alliance.

¹⁰⁵ Hdt. 2. 44; cf. Austin, 41.

¹⁰⁶ Hdt. 3. 47.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Austin, 60 f. n. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. P. Paice, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 8, 1986/87, 95 for a probable dating of this canal to the time of Necho II already.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 331; G. Posener, *La première domination Perse en Egypte* (1936) for Egyptian–Persian sources; Kienitz, 55–66; J.-F. Salles, in *Achaemenid History*, viii (1994), 209 ff.

IV

The Greek Economy and Its Market Elements

The fall of the Mycenaean world marks a deep historical break. Mycenaean society was characterized by a redistributive economy, indicated by accurate book-keeping in its centres. According to Finley,¹ in the following Dark Ages, Greek society was largely determined by reciprocity, thus differing not only from the preceding Mycenaean age but also—fundamentally—from the advanced civilizations of the Near East.

Reciprocity can still be found in Herodotus, who records traces of consolidation of social relationships through the exchange of gifts.² The friendship between Polykrates of Samos and Pharaoh Amasis, for example, was strengthened by means of gifts and counter-gifts;³ the alliance between Kroisos and the Spartans came about through the gift of a krater as a reciprocal present for gold.⁴ Given the absence of great centres of redistribution for the collection and reallocation of land, labour, and products, Greek society and its economy should be regarded as developing along completely different lines to those of the Near Eastern civilizations.

I. THE ORGANIZATION OF EXTERNAL EXCHANGE: MODES OF TRADING

Any attempt at commenting on trade in Archaic Greece seems a risky undertaking in that the results depend wholly on the approach applied and the questions asked.⁵ Written sources are rare and difficult to interpret.

¹ Finley, *WO*, 64 ff. and *passim*. However, the current view holds that the Homeric poems represent the 8th c. BC rather than the Dark Ages. Cf. IV.2.a. below.

² A full account of the meaning of gift exchange in Herodotus can be found in J. Gould, *Give and Take in Herodotus. The fifteenth J. L. Myres Memorial Lecture* (1991).

³ Hdt. 3. 39. In this case, we have two rulers, whereas S. Morris, in *Greece between East and West*, xvi, concludes from the fact that the mass of oriental imports are to be found in Greek sanctuaries that oriental potentates and also traders gave gifts to the gods rather than to Greek guest-friends since kingship had been lacking after the Mycenaean period. For Amasis' diplomatic policy, cf. III.2.b, above.

⁴ Hdt. 1. 69–70, but the krater was taken by Samians and later supplied the reason for Spartan intervention in Samos (Hdt. 3. 47).

⁵ See von Reden for a rather different approach looking for ideological implications of exchange.

Archaeological sources, for their part, while extensive and varied, are no easier to explain. Do we have to assume that every sherd of pottery, every ivory fragment, and every oriental seal arrived at its place of discovery through trade—indeed, what precisely do we mean by ‘trade’?⁶ My feeling is that it is impossible to find a definition of the term that is both general and really useful; nonetheless, the review of a few attempts aiming at such a definition will serve to indicate at least some possible direction.

Polanyi⁷ has rightly observed that trade can signify not only the two-way movement of commodities through a market—that is, via supply-and-demand price mechanisms and involving the use of money—but also peaceful, usually two-way movements of objects over a considerable distance directed at acquiring items which are not available on the spot. He uses the word ‘trade’ for every form of exchange,⁸ however, making it necessary for us further to determine and define its meaning in each case. Polanyi’s remarks are of great assistance if one is seeking to grasp the variety of exchanges, but not if one wishes to differentiate pre-market-economy trade from other forms of exchange.

Hasebroek⁹ hoped that a survey of the personnel involved in Greek trade—i.e. the traders themselves—would result in an assessment of trade as a whole. The considerable problems presented by ascertaining the identity of ‘traders’ in Archaic times will be discussed further below. What can be said with certainty is that a definition of trade based upon the trader will be of no help unless we can arrive at a clear concept of the trader.

Hopper¹⁰ defines trade as a form of developed barter or of transactions carried out via a universally acceptable means of exchange, a precious metal in the form of bullion or coins. This definition is too restrictive in our case, since one cannot assume—at least for the Archaic period—that a means of exchange was required at all. Metals were directly exchanged as merchandise for grain, slaves, and luxury articles.

Austin and Vidal-Naquet¹¹ start implicitly from the Greek assumption that trade must be bound up with profit. It is this striving after profit or proceeds (*kerdos*) of which the Phaeacians accuse a trader¹² and which makes him a figure of disdain. However, this profit will have been the

⁶ M. I. Finley, in *Trade and Politics*, 33 stated ‘“trade” itself is a mere phrase’. C. J. Howgego, *EHR* 101, 1986, 207, complains in his review of ‘Trade in the Ancient Economy’ that no agreed definition of trade has been found.

⁷ Polanyi, *Essays*, 158–66; id., *Dahomey and the Slave Trade* (1966), p. xviii.

⁸ Unfortunately, Polanyi does not use the word ‘trade’ consistently, employing ‘trade’ and ‘exchange’ interchangeably to denote both market exchange and other modes of external exchange.

⁹ Hasebroek, 1.

¹⁰ R. J. Hopper, *Trade and Industry in Classical Greece* (1979), 11.

¹¹ Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 43f.

¹² *Hom. Od.* 8. 159–64.

result of certain—presumably fraudulent—transactions, since it is not proceeds of transportation¹³ or kinds of reciprocity in general that is rejected. The question of profit can contribute to a possible definition, albeit itself raising fresh problems of defining *kerdos*.

Snodgrass¹⁴ considers trade the acquisition and moving of goods without the knowledge or identification of a further purchaser. This definition is based upon the understanding that trade emerges from the separation of acts of exchange from the personalized context of a reciprocal society. It helps us to understand that there must also have been other forms of exchange in addition to an 'impersonal' trade largely despised by society.

After failing to find just one satisfying definition of trade, we should try to delimit the concept of trade by listing the possible ways in which an object can pass from point A to point B.¹⁵ This is of considerable importance for the interpretation of archaeological finds, since not everything that was transported was traded.¹⁶

There is a cluster of possible methods of moving objects which cannot be described as exchange, since they cover the one-sided acquisition of things, on the one hand by robbery and pillage, for example in time of war¹⁷ or by pirates,¹⁸ and on the other through the collection of taxes and tribute.

A clear distinction between such methods and the mutual, peaceful acquisition of objects can be made.¹⁹ One possible way in which this can take place is through balanced reciprocity. Items are exchanged, within the context of a personal relationship, between persons known to each other and having the same social status. A further possibility of exchange takes the form of generalized reciprocity, a received gift bringing with it the obligation to return it at a later time enhanced in value. These gifts usually carry a story, they have a history. It is not the commodity value that counts, but the gift value, i.e. the social value or prestige coming with the gift that is important.²⁰ Such reciprocity can result in the passing on of articles from

¹³ B. Wagner-Hasel, *Die Macht der Kleider* (1994), ch. II.5., analyses proceeds gained from transportation.

¹⁴ A. Snodgrass, in *Trade*, 26.

¹⁵ B. Stjernquist, in *Handel und Verkehr*, 63 ff., attempts a definition by classifying modes of exchange.

¹⁶ Cf. R. Rolle, in *Handel und Verkehr*, 461.

¹⁷ Aristot. *Pol.* I 1256^b23 considered the *πολεμική* (τέχνη)—the art of war—a natural *κτητική* (τέχνη)—an art of acquiring property. T. Rihll, in J. Rich and G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Greek World* (1993), 77–107, considers warfare a mode of production.

¹⁸ Cf. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 68.

¹⁹ C. Renfrew, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 41–6 with fig. 10, develops an elaborated classification of modes of exchange which I have considered only in reduced form.

²⁰ Von Reden, 18 with n. 33, wishes to depart from that binary model to show the dialectic relationship of gift exchange and commodity exchange. In this, she takes up a position by A. Appadurai, in id. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986), 11 ff.

one recipient to the next, causing them to be transported over great distances.²¹

Exchange can also be organized in the form of administered trade undertaken by specially commissioned agents or expeditions supervised and protected by governments. This pattern is typical for Near Eastern empires, but would also be conceivable in modified form as a diplomatic mission for Greek poleis needing to guarantee the supply of their population's needs by political measures.

A further possibility may be seen in the transport of objects from one point to another by middlemen. Many oriental objects in Greece will presumably have been transported there by the Phoenicians;²² similarly, individual styles of pottery, such as Attic or Laconian vases, will have reached the place in which they were discovered through middlemen—presumably Aeginetans and perhaps Phoenicians—rather than through those producing them.

Another way in which the external exchange of a Greek polis could have been conducted may be seen in the setting up of *emporía*. Naukratis, dating from the last quarter of the seventh century, and Ampurias, ancient Emporion, in Catalonia, known from the beginning of the sixth century, can be mentioned here as examples of settlements serving the purpose of *emporía*. However, there is also increasing evidence of *emporía* in the harbour areas or on the edge of a polis. The latter are both characterized by *emporía* and the presence of traders, so that Greek external trade may be described as 'emporion-based'.²³ If we take the *emporion* lying in the harbour area of a polis as remarkably similar to the ideal type of the 'port of trade',²⁴ we have to ask whether the external trade of a polis can be described as administered trade. While it is true that a Greek polis does not represent a redistributive system such as that of Egypt, it is still possible to assume the existence of supervised—meaning administered—structures in certain individual spheres, for instance regarding the importing of grain.

Using two examples—the transport respectively of marble and metals—

²¹ In the case of balanced reciprocity, it might take a form called down-the-line trade by Renfrew, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 41 ff.

²² Cf. Hodges, 39. D. W. J. Gill, *BSR* 56, 1988, 6–9, looks at the Phoenicians transporting pottery and other items to the western Mediterranean. For support of the archaeological evidence, he dwells on Ps.-Skylax 112 (Müller, *GGM* 94–5; cf. K. von Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* (1967), ii. 15 f. n. 45), who informs us of the *κέραμος Ἀττικός* which was transported among other luxury items by the Phoenicians. Aubert 77–118 gives an account of Phoenician exchange mechanisms, and, after revising Polanyi's ideas in the light of her evidence, arrives at a critical view of the applicability of his models.

²³ Cf. A. W. Johnston, in *Papers on the Amasis Painter* (1987), 134.

²⁴ Admittedly, in this case the aspect of the 'port of trade' as the interface of two different economic systems is neglected. Cf. IV.3, below.

Snodgrass²⁵ has shown how little this transportation may be understood as trade. Marble was transported to order, accompanied by the sculptor from the quarry to its destination, and was not the subject of speculative trading. Worked metal, such as the Krater of Vix,²⁶ probably either a commissioned piece²⁷ or reaching France via gift exchange,²⁸ usually already belonged to its owner at the time of shipping. Nor should it be forgotten that large objects in particular were often produced on the site for which they were destined, as with the Geometric tripods in Olympia.

Indeed, we are discovering a growing number of instances of craftsmen emigrating with their workshops and producing their objects far away from home, a phenomenon reducing the significance of trade still further. It was not only metal or marble that was transported over considerable distances to serve this purpose: the argument has been advanced that clay was shipped as well.²⁹

The transport of painted pottery represents one of the most frequently discussed problems,³⁰ since it is discovered everywhere and in great quantities in excavations. Furthermore, the different styles usually make its place of origin easy to determine. Any deductions regarding the possible significance of pottery as an object of trade that are exclusively based upon the fact that it was often carried over considerable distances would be questionable. Pottery is imperishable; moreover, it cannot be reworked after it has been fired, unlike melted-down metal. This explains why pottery often represents the only source of information regarding the movement of commodities; for this very reason, however, it should not be overrated.³¹ The discovery of shipwrecks has given us a better perspective of the picture left by pottery.³² The remains of these ancient ships reveal an extremely mixed

²⁵ Snodgrass, in *Trade*, 16–26.

²⁶ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 220 fig. 261.

²⁷ Snodgrass, in *Trade*, 24; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 99, 1979, 154 f.

²⁸ Cf. J. N. Coldstream, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.* (1983), 206.

²⁹ Cf. D. W. J. Gill, *Antiquity* 61, 1987, 82 f.; D. W. J. Gill and R. A. Tomlinson, *ABSA* 80, 1985, 118; J. L. Benson, in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 3 (1985), 20; H. A. Thompson, *Expedition* 22, 1980, 16. Petrie, *Tanis* ii, 62, considered the shipping of raw clay to Egypt to be easier than that of fragile vases. K. Arafat and C. Morgan, in *Classical Greece*, ed. I. Morris (1994), 109 with n. 1 are sceptical about the notion that clay was shipped around the Mediterranean although they admit that Naukratis might be a special case, since there was no potter's clay available.

³⁰ See the still relevant article by R. M. Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 114–23; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 99, 1979, 153 f., revises his assumptions regarding the distribution of Laconian pottery. Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 12–8, for the interpretation of archaeological evidence generally but focused on pottery.

³¹ Cf. R. M. Cook's sceptical remarks, in *ABSA* 44, 1949, 161, on the distortion of our picture.

³² Cf. A. J. Parker, *ARC* 3, 1984, 99–113; Gill, *PBSR* 56, 1988, 4 f.; for an Etruscan shipwreck of about 600 BC see M. Bound and R. Vallintine, *Intern. J. of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 12, 1983, 113–22; M. Bound, in *Il commercio Etrusco arcaico. Atti dell' Incontro di Studio* (1985), 249–55. See

load: metal bars, amphorae, fine pottery, stones, tiles. Here too, of course, the ephemeral objects, such as wood and foodstuffs, are lost to us.³³

Recently, Vickers³⁴ and Gill³⁵ have even gone so far as to put forward the hypothesis that the role played by pottery in transport was solely that of a 'space-filler' and 'saleable' or 'profitable ballast'. Behind this argument lies the assumption that Attic clay vessels were merely cheap imitations of much more valuable metal vessels made from silver and gold.³⁶ The intrinsic value of metal vessels is naturally greater than that of clay vessels. However, Attic vases—as Boardman has aptly remarked³⁷—are designer products of artistic quality, their value measured in terms of the high regard in which they were held by potential purchasers. Nonetheless, the argument by Vickers and Gill, even if somewhat overstated, has served to direct attention away from pottery and towards other transported items that are at least as important.

In addition to the vases of artistic value, there are of course many different sorts of pottery, shipped because of their contents. Corinthian aryballoi and figure vases presumably held all kinds of precious oils. Amphorae served as containers for wine and oil. Amphorae from the seventh century BC onwards can be allocated—albeit not with complete certainty—to individual places of production,³⁸ enabling conclusions to be drawn regarding the producers of wine and oil, but not concerning the carriers. From the fourth century onwards, stamps on the handles of amphorae also give information about their producers.³⁹ The fact that amphorae could be reused should make one even more suspicious with regard to making assumptions concerning their carriers.⁴⁰

Is it at all possible to assume that there was a trade in fine pottery? Were

now the catalogue by A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*, BAR Intern. Series 580 (1992).

³³ H. T. Wallinga, *Ships and Sea-Power Before the Great Persian War* (1993), 71 f. points to the fact that services like those of mercenaries also do not show in the archaeological record but are likely in the case of Phocaeans at Tartessos as well as in Egypt as their item of exchange.

³⁴ M. Vickers, in *Pottery* I, 90 n. 30; id., *Hephaistos* 7–8, 1985/6, 165.

³⁵ D. W. J. Gill, *Intern. J. of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 16, 1987, 31–3; id., *OJA* 6, 1987, 121–5; id., *PBSR* 56, 1988, 1 f.; id., *JHS* 111, 1991, 29–47; id., in *Classical Greece*, ed. I. Morris (1994), 99–107.

³⁶ Cf. M. Vickers, *JHS* 105, 1985, 108–28; strong objections by J. Boardman, *RA* 1987, 279–95.

³⁷ J. Boardman, *OJA* 7, 1988, 27 f. and 371–3 as answer to Gill, *OJA* 7, 1988, 369–70 on the discussion about prices of pottery and other items. A point of order comes from A. W. Johnston, *Acta Hyperborea* 3, 1990, 403–9.

³⁸ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 16 f.; P. Dupont, *PP* 37, 1982, 193–209; C. G. Köhler, *Archaeological News* 8, 1979, 54–61; A. Caravale and I. Toffoletti, *Anfore antiche. Conoscerle e identificarle* (1997).

³⁹ Cf. Y. Garlan, in *Trade*, 27–35; id., in *Trade and Famine*, 37–44.

⁴⁰ Hdt. 3. 6 for storage of water in reused amphorae in the Syrian desert. Cf. J.-F. Salles, in *Achaemenid History*, viii (1994), 195 f.

vases taken on board ship on the off chance of making a 'good deal'? It is particularly important not to invoke such terms as 'profit' and 'overseas markets' without due reflection if we aim to identify possible procedures. Moreover, we must differentiate between the western and eastern Mediterranean. It has been argued that the incidence of Greek pottery in the Near East, other than stray pieces, should be understood as an indication of the presence of Greeks as mercenaries, travellers, or—in some rare cases—settlers.⁴¹ However, recent finds of Greek pottery in Levantine contexts are likely to change our image and the old question who transported Greek pottery to the Levant has to be considered with differentiation in the light of recent finds.⁴² For Al Mina, the old hypothesis, that it was the Greeks, remains plausible, while in the case of the Phoenician burials at Khaldeh near Beirut and Tell Rachidieh near Tyre Phoenicians clearly showed a taste for Greek pottery and might have transported pieces from Greece themselves. At Tyre, Greek imports have been found in several strata from the tenth century BC onwards.⁴³ The transportation of Greek pottery to the east should therefore be treated with caution: it might have been as well an object of trade for the Phoenicians as intended for personal use by the Greeks in Al Mina, or for dedication in sanctuaries, as at Naukratis.

The situation in the west was different. The colonists were the first people to bring to the west great quantities of ceramics—especially Corinthian pottery, at this time still the favourite style at home. In addition to Corinthian pottery, the colonists were also unwilling to do without their own local style, the Laconians having their Laconian bowls in Tarentum and the Phocaeans Ionian bowls in Massalia. However, soon we may observe the production of imitations in the new colonies, if necessary even with imported clay, something easier to transport than the finished, fired vases.⁴⁴ One of the reasons behind local production might have been the difficulty of obtaining pottery from home.

Given the background of further possible ways of exchange, the question of the existence of pre-colonial trade⁴⁵ must be put differently. In all

⁴¹ A. J. Graham, *DHA* 12, 1986, 56, however, questions this point.

⁴² Haider, 1996, evaluates Greek pottery finds in the Levant (add J. Perreault, *BCH* 110, 1986, 145–75; J. C. Waldbaum and J. Magness, *AJA* 101, 1997, 23–40) in order to qualify the argument that in the East a Greek sherd always calls for the presence of Greeks.

⁴³ Cf. J. N. Coldstream and P. M. Bikai, *RDAC* 1988/2, 35–44; Haider, 1996, 60 ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. Benson, in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 3 (1985) 17–20. The shortage of local pottery from home might not be the only reason for pottery production in the colony. Among the colonists we can assume potters and other craftsmen who doubtlessly will have continued with their craft.

⁴⁵ Cf. Will, in *Trade and Politics*, 109 f.; pre-colonial trade is assumed, e.g. by A. Blakeway, *ABSA* 33, 1932/33, 202; A. W. Gomme, in id., *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (1937), 44 n. 1; C. Roebuck,

probability, Greeks were undertaking voyages into the western Mediterranean⁴⁶ and the Pontus region⁴⁷ before the foundation of colonies there; however, such enterprises at this time should not be seen simply as trading ventures, but were perhaps rather in the nature of exploratory and raiding trips. Any pottery found in Italy or the Black Sea that can be dated to the time before the foundation of *apoikiai*⁴⁸ should presumably be regarded as for personal use, or perhaps as a gift brought by a guest for such local people as could grant him access to valued goods. Regular exchange did not develop until the time of the foundation of colonies, with the resultant demand for pottery from the relevant home town.⁴⁹

Turning to sixth-century Attic pottery, all appearances indicate that it was aimed at more than merely occasional personal use by colonists and gift-trading.⁵⁰ The Etruscans were clearly very interested in Attic vases, to be found in great quantities in Etruscan graves; they were likely to have been luxury items, possibly exchanged against the right of access to metal deposits.⁵¹ Athenian potters reacted to this demand, producing a special design, the Tyrrhenian amphorae, specially for the Etruscans. Nikosthenes the potter also adapted his style to conform to Etruscan taste.⁵² Even production to order was seemingly possible, as in the case of the famous dinos of Exekias, intended for a customer in Sikyon.⁵³ However, we can be sure

in *Trade and Politics*, 100f.; R. Werner, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 34 n. 62. See for further discussion A. J. Graham, in J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Population* (1990), 45–60.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. J. Domínguez, *La colonización griega en Sicilia* (1989), 54 f., for finds e.g. close to Megara Hyblaea dated earlier than the traditional dates given for the foundation of colonies. Graham, op.cit., 46–52, 55–60, discusses in some detail pre-colonial contacts in the western Mediterranean.

⁴⁷ R. Rolle, in *Handel und Verkehr*, 465 f., claims that the first period of trading connections with the Pontus in the 2nd half of the 7th c., is marked by wine vessels. Greek wine must have been a luxury item which was taken as a reciprocal gift. A. X. Kocybala, 'Greek Colonization on the North Shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic Period', Ph.D. thesis Pennsylvania (1978), 361 f., cannot see any archaeological confirmation of a precolonization period. Cf. Graham, op.cit., 52 ff., for the Pontus area.

⁴⁸ C. Dehl, *Die korinthische Keramik des 8. und frühen 7. Jhs. in Italien* (1984), 98 ff., rejects pre-colonial imports of Corinthian pottery to Italy. On 155 f. she concludes that the earliest imports of Corinthian pottery to Italy are from the mid-8th c., that Corinthian pottery increases in quantity at the time of colonization in places of Magna Grecia, and that only in the first half of the 7th c. can it be found in Etruscan coastal places. Cf. Domínguez, op.cit., 56–64, for a critical examination of Dehl's arguments. However, Domínguez, 61, explains very plainly that the dating of Corinthian pottery and the dates of the foundation of western colonies are part of a vicious circle. Cf. Graham, op.cit., 46 ff., and Amyx, 397–434 with regard to chronological problems.

⁴⁹ Cf. Dehl, op.cit., 155 f.

⁵⁰ Cf. Boardman, *Expedition* 21, 1979, 33–9, for a cautious statistical evaluation of Attic vases.

⁵¹ Cf. A. J. Graham, *AncW* 10, 1984, 6 n. 22.

⁵² Cf. Boardman, *Expedition* 21, 1979, 34 f.; Boardman, *GO*³, 200 ff. with figs. 237, 238. Dehl, op.cit., 155, reasons that the Corinthian Thapsos class was produced for export.

⁵³ *ABV*, 146. 20; *Addenda*², 41; cf. A. W. Johnston, in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (1987), 134. This dinos is inscribed with a dedication in the Sikyonian alphabet in a most professional

that it was not the Athenians who exported their vases westwards: as Cook aptly remarks,⁵⁴ when they dispatched an expedition to Sicily in 416 BC, the Athenians knew very little about the place. Moreover, the so-called trade-marks,⁵⁵ in all probability cut by the carriers, are a point in favour of these not being Athenians.⁵⁶

The phenomenon of a given pottery style dying out or falling into insignificance is often explained by competition or ousting from the market.⁵⁷ We can assume that the quality of certain styles made them more attractive than others, and also that the Greeks will have had a weakness for fashion—how else could we explain the imitation by Attic artists of Corinthian vases for a period when making their Komast bowls, or the fact that Corinthian vase-painters seem to have imitated Attic pottery in their red-ground kraters? Cook⁵⁸ has also pointed out that fashions and customs were important factors in the pottery trade, and that it was for this reason that East Greek pottery found its customers among the inhabitants of settlements consciously East Greek in nature.

However, any explanation for the displacement of Corinthian pottery by Attic vases that is based upon competition and markets brings its own problems. There is no evidence to indicate that the Athenians themselves transported their vases to Egypt or Etruria. It is equally uncertain whether the Corinthians transported their own pottery. They need not have been active themselves in the west—with the exception of Syracuse, their only western colony—for their pottery was so popular that it was carried by many ships, especially since Corinth possessed a harbour with a convenient location on the Isthmus, which will certainly have served as a stopover for ships voyaging further westwards.⁵⁹ Accordingly, there is no reason why Athens and Corinth should be seen as engaged in competition for overseas markets.

Against any modernistic assumption regarding the effects of competition for overseas markets one should consider the small number of people involved in the production of pottery. Cook⁶⁰ has estimated that about 400

way, making it very likely—according to Beazley—that Exekias himself scratched it after the vase had been fired.

⁵⁴ R. M. Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 116.

⁵⁵ Cf. A. W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (1979); id., in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (1987), 128–40.

⁵⁶ Cf. R. M. Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 116; in addition to Ionians und Aeginetans it could have been Etruscans, cf. A. W. Johnston, in *Il commercio Etrusco arcaico. Atti dell'Incontro di Studio* (1985), 249–55.

⁵⁷ Cf. e.g. M. S. Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 141, 153 f.; J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth* (1984), 114 f.

⁵⁸ R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 44, 1949, 161.

⁵⁹ Cf. R. M. Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 115.

⁶⁰ Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 118–21.

to 500 people were occupied with the making of fine pottery in Athens at the same time. Thus, a rise or fall in the demand for pottery will hardly have been decisive. Pottery production played no significant role in the prosperity of an ancient polis, however much the amount found may incline us to think otherwise.

An interpretation of the pottery found around the Mediterranean that focuses upon carriers and trading relations remains extremely complex. There are perhaps some instances where Cook's pessimistic attitude,⁶¹ to the effect that the only fact ultimately to emerge from the distribution of fine pottery is that it has been exported from its point of production, no longer need be followed. Nevertheless, there are no general answers to the questions of the motives, procedures, and carriers behind pottery trading. Such transport must always be seen within the context of the prevailing political and social conditions.

In summarizing the organization of external exchange, it is important to stress—given the difficulty of defining trade—that one can only reflect on possible ways and means of transporting objects, resulting in some ideal-type models of exchange. Such thoughts on the modes of exchange involving our most important evidence of transported items—the pottery—reveal the necessity of differentiating between producers and carriers, together with places of discovery, whether *apoikia*, *empóron*, *enoikismos*,⁶² or native settlement.

2. THE PERSONNEL OF EXTERNAL EXCHANGE: THE TRADERS

a. *The Homeric period*⁶³

External exchange in the Homeric period was characterized by four different modes. There was passive trade, in which the desired articles were transported by middlemen, usually belonging to a trading people, such as

⁶¹ Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 115.

⁶² Cf. Boardman, *OJA* 9, 1990, 182.

⁶³ How to use the Homeric poems as a source for social history has been discussed in various ways. Finley held the opinion that the society described resembled that of the Dark Ages. That it is not Mycenaean society was proved by the deciphering of the Linear B script only a very short time after Finley had published his book. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 37–40, are convinced that there are three historical stages to be found in the Homeric epics: elements of the Mycenaean period, the Dark Ages, and the 8th c.; cf. E. Sherratt, *Antiquity* 64, 1990, 807–24. I. Morris, *CiAnt* 5, 1986, 81–138, in using the results of research in oral poetry, takes the Homeric poems as a source for social history—albeit from a particular elite viewpoint—of the 8th c. BC; the view I largely adopt in this book. Von Reden, 55, approaching her topic influenced by literary criticism, reminds us that in the epics we are dealing with texts full of images, not with a social reality. This, however, puts too much emphasis on the imaginary aspects of epic at the cost of its undeniable engagement with social reality. Literature, particularly if it developed from oral poetry, carries with it the social background of its poet and its audience, and thus social reality.

the Phoenicians.⁶⁴ They apparently practised another mode of exchange, the two-sided impersonal and intentional trading in the form of barter or haggling, accused by the Greeks of achieving their profit by cheating or piracy, resulting in a negative image of Phoenician traders in the *Odyssey*. A further way to acquire desired products involved raiding and plunder.⁶⁵ Since proceeds from such enterprises were socially esteemed, it can be described as negative reciprocity.⁶⁶ Balanced reciprocity⁶⁷ describes the mode of exchange where reciprocation takes place without delay, serving especially to consolidate personal relations, the balance being achieved in customary equivalence and time. This leads Marshall Sahlins⁶⁸ to subsume trade under balanced reciprocity.

However, raiding and trading were frequently simultaneous activities, leading Walter Donlan,⁶⁹ contrary to Sahlins, to consider both trading and raiding as instances of negative reciprocity. However, it seems helpful for analytical purposes to confine negative reciprocity to activities which pursue economic *and* social ends; raiding constitutes an example of this, in that it not only enriches the leader and his followers through the acquisition of booty but also structures the hierarchy in the group, the successful leader being affirmed through his receiving a disproportionate share of the booty, the *geras*, and thereby enlarging his *timē*. Trading does not fit well enough into the category of negative reciprocity. It is a two-sided activity, and in the Homeric poems it refers to Phoenicians, strangers without personal relationships with Greeks, therefore without any direct effect on Greek society. However, the Phoenicians figure as a negative image, thereby supporting the positive values of the warrior class. Nor does trade neatly fall into the category of balanced reciprocity, since, as an external activity with

⁶⁴ Cf. C. Renfrew, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 42 f. no. 7: Freelance (Middleman) Trading; also Boardman, *GO*³, 38; Knorrinda, 3, regards Greek trade in Homeric times as mainly passive in nature; for Hasebroek, 69, the Phoenicians were the first agents of trade. See e.g. S. Morris, pp. xiv f. and W. Röllig, 93 ff., in *Greece between East and West* (1992), for stronger emphasis on Phoenician traders and craftsmen coming to Greece taking their art with them.

⁶⁵ e.g. Hom. *Il.* 11. 670–84; Hom. *Od.* 9. 39–42.

⁶⁶ Cf. W. Donlan, *CW* 75, 1982, 140 ff., who adopts Sahlins's scheme of reciprocities (cf. M. D. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (1972), 191–6). B. Wagner-Hasel, *Die Macht der Kleider* (1994), ch. I, in giving a history of ideas about gift exchange, criticizes Donlan's categories as not matching the Greek concepts.

⁶⁷ Cf. Donlan, *CW* 75, 1982, 140, 143–54. In Hom. *Od.* 3. 301 f., Menelaos is collecting *biotos* and gold; we are not told in what way. Wagner-Hasel, op.cit., ch. II.5.e., discusses the different types of transported goods such as *biotos*, *kiēmata*, *chrēmata*, *pharmaka*, etc.

⁶⁸ Sahlins, op.cit., 195.

⁶⁹ Donlan, *CW* 75, 1982, 141. He does not distinguish at an inter-tribal level, i.e. with strangers, between the one-sided acquisition of goods and impersonal but two-sided trading. In this, he follows the familiar anthropological dictum that trade in primitive societies often equals raid. For Humphreys, 167, the distinction between raid and trade is marked by only an 'ideological hairline'.

strangers, it did not affect the way the society was structured by reciprocity. Therefore, trade could be defined as the exchange of objects which transcends the limits of reciprocity.⁷⁰

We already find traces of trading expeditions to the so-called barbarians in Homer. We hear of Mentès,⁷¹ leader of the Taphians, who is travelling to Tamassos on Cyprus in order to exchange iron for copper there with people 'speaking a strange tongue'. This may already be interpreted as trading, its purpose the impersonal acquisition of products for which there was a great need; unlike negative reciprocity, however, there was the additional intention to exchange something for the desired objects. The Taphians were regarded as a seafaring people, albeit one clearly pursuing piracy and slave-trading.⁷² The close link between impersonal trading and robbery—piracy in this case—becomes evident.

Mentès' relationship with Telemachos, the son of his guest-friend Odysseus, is characterized by generalized reciprocity, i.e. the reciprocal exchange of gifts over a longer time span, serving here to consolidate social relations and remaining entirely personal.⁷³ The words pronounced by Telemachos in greeting Mentès, enquiring as to the purpose (*chrē*) of his visit, is surely not to be understood as signifying any specific intention upon the part of Telemachos to trade with Mentès.⁷⁴

Growing interest in the Near East on the part of the Greeks may be ascertained for northern Syria from the eighth century BC onwards, numerous Greek sherds coming to light in Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes, in Ras-el-Basit, and in Tell Sukas.⁷⁵ The sherds from the first phase in Al Mina have been dated to the eighth century, and those of the second phase to the seventh century.⁷⁶ The oldest traces in Al Mina are particularly striking, since they point to an Euboean presence, these people also representing the first Greeks in the west. The picture offered by the pottery towards the end of the seventh century increasingly resembles that of Naukratis, with a predominant East Greek element. Al Mina's interest for the Greeks probably lay in its proximity to metal deposits in the hinterland.

Greek contact with the east is likely to have started in the 'Homeric

⁷⁰ Pace von Reden, 2, who aims to demonstrate that the process from gift exchange to trade and market exchange happened alongside an ideological redefinition of social boundaries and not by an institutional break.

⁷¹ Hom. *Od.* 1. 179–84. Mentès is in fact Athena.

⁷² Hom. *Od.* 1. 181, 419; 14. 452; 15. 427; 16. 426.

⁷³ Hom. *Od.* 1. 306–18; cf. Finley, *WO*, 65; another example is to be found in Hom. *Od.* 4. 611–19.

⁷⁴ Hom. *Od.* 1. 123 f.; cf. I. Morris, *Man* 21, 1986, 5.

⁷⁵ Cf. A. J. Graham, *DHA* 12, 1986, 51–65; J. Boardman, *OJA* 9, 1990, 169–90; Haider, 1996, 62–7.

⁷⁶ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 39–51; Graham, *DHA* 12, 1986, 52 f. for dating. However, J. Perrault, in A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'Emporion* (1993), 63–8 tries to minimize the early presence of Greeks unduly. Cf. J. Boardman, in *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ, ΑΙΟΝ* n.s. 1 (1994), 99 n. 20.

way'. Those Greeks travelling eastwards could be compared to the Homeric heroes who are represented as looking for metals and luxury articles.⁷⁷ They had little to exchange, with the possible exception of slaves.⁷⁸ The pottery will have been carried for their own use, rather than serving as trading items.⁷⁹ For this reason, it is conceivable that they were primarily interested in raiding and piracy, especially in the light of the somewhat insecure political conditions in the Near East and the resultant comparative ease with which one could pass plundering through the region. Thus, these Greeks should not necessarily be described as traders, for they were primarily committed to negative reciprocity.⁸⁰ However, the presence of Greeks at Al Mina clearly marks a different mode of exchange.

The Phoenicians are more likely candidates—at least from the Homeric viewpoint—for the description of traders. Their ventures were concerned with the import of food and raw materials, since their own resources, those available to them as the inhabitants of towns with no hinterland, were limited. The Phoenicians' economic base changed at the turn of the second to the first millennium BC: as a result of overgrazing, wood, their main trading item, was no longer naturally replaced.⁸¹ In consequence, their colonizing activities in the ninth and eighth centuries BC, like those of the Greeks from the mid-eighth century onwards, must be seen as a quest for sources of raw materials, rather than as a search for markets.⁸² The Phoenicians worked the raw materials to form metal vessels,⁸³ ivory objects,⁸⁴ cloth,⁸⁵ and other luxury items—*athurmata*, as they are termed in the *Odyssey*⁸⁶—exchanging these for *biotos* (means of living),⁸⁷ such as

⁷⁷ Mele, 58–78, considers what he calls the Homeric *commercio prexis* the way to acquire metals.

⁷⁸ Cf. Boardman, *GO³*, 42.

⁷⁹ This argument is challenged by Haider, 1996. In Naukratis, however, most of the pottery was dedicated to the Greek gods. In Al Mina, where no sanctuaries were found, the pottery must have served for personal use.

⁸⁰ This is at least evidenced for Egypt during Homeric times: Hom. *Od.* 14. 245–74. T. Rihll, in J. Rich and G. Shipley (eds.), *War and Society in the Greek World* (1993), 96, suggests that Al Mina was founded for the 'honourable business of manhunting', which would counter Boardman's suggestion (*GO³*, 42) to the effect that the Greeks might have given slaves in exchange for metal.

⁸¹ Cf. the discussion of W. Röllig 1982, in *Phönizier*, 29f. Whether the growing Assyrian pressure during the later 9th and 8th cc. can be seen as another reason for colonization appears doubtful, as land-bound Assyria and seaborne Phoenician cities seem to have entered into a compact; cf. G. Kopcke, in *Greece between East and West*, 106f.

⁸² Cf. W. Röllig, in *Phönizier*, 26.

⁸³ Hom. *Il.* 23. 741 ff., confirmed by archaeological finds. Cf. G. E. Markoe, in *Greece between East and West*, 77, for itinerant craftsmen in Italy, n. 85 for Crete and Attica, producing on the spot instead of transporting the ready-made product.

⁸⁴ Cf. J. Thimme, *Phönizische Elfenbeinarbeiten, Bildhefte des Badischen Landesmuseums Karlsruhe* (1973); I. J. Winter, 'Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context', *Iraq* 38, 1976, 1–26.

⁸⁵ Hom. *Il.* 6. 289 ff.

⁸⁶ Hom. *Od.* 15. 416.

⁸⁷ Hom. *Od.* 15. 446.

sheep, cattle, wine, and wheat.⁸⁸ However, they had the reputation of being swindlers, 'greedy knaves',⁸⁹ who sold people as slaves.⁹⁰ It would appear that the Phoenicians had given the Greeks the example of a new kind of external exchange—albeit with negative connotations in the Homeric poems—thereby arousing their curiosity with regard to trading ventures of their own.⁹¹

It is presumably these Phoenicians with whom Odysseus is compared by one of the Phaeacians.⁹² Odysseus is mocked since he looks not like a warrior and athlete, but rather

like some skipper of a merchant crew [*πρηκτῆρες*], who spends his life on a hulking tramp, worrying about his outward freight, or keeping a sharp eye on the cargo when he comes home with his extortionate profits [*κέρδος*].⁹³

How is the word *prēktēr* to be interpreted? We are obviously concerned here with someone conducting *prēxis* (business).⁹⁴ These transactions can by all means signify a positive activity, as expressed in the *Odyssey*⁹⁵ through the contrast of *prēxis* with 'roaming around at random [*μαψιδίως ἀλάλῃσθαι*]', the concern here being with business of a general nature. However, the context in which the word appears in the quotation above would seem to indicate an occupation with trading transactions,⁹⁶ used as it is to refer to sea-captains whose concern it is to exchange their cargo for homeward freight. Since striving after profit is also a characteristic of trading transactions, I feel that a translation of *prēktēres* as 'traders' is justified.⁹⁷

What makes the activity of a *prēktēr* (trader) so reprehensible is his striving after *kerdos* (proceeds).⁹⁸ However, it must be a particular form of

⁸⁸ Hom. *Od.* 15. 406.

⁸⁹ Hom. *Od.* 14. 289; 15. 416.

⁹⁰ Hom. *Od.* 14. 297; 15. 452 f.

⁹¹ Cf. Figueira, 193; J. N. Coldstream, in *Phönizier*, 263. Starr, 61 ff., objects to the assumption that the Phoenicians started trade earlier than the Greeks.

⁹² Cf. Hasebroek, 19, 28, 68; for an opposing view B. Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 33 f. 38 f., id., *DHA* 10, 1984, 99, concludes from the fact that the Phoenicians are already described by the Homeric poems (Hom. *Od.* 15. 415–75) with technical terms relating to trade that this must be a reflection of Greek reality in the second half of the 8th c. The *prēktēr* must therefore belong to the Greek world. Cf. I. Morris, *CIAnt* 5, 1986, 83–91 for mechanisms of oral poetry. I agree with Bravo that the Greeks of the 8th c. were familiar with trade, but this does not necessarily mean they were conducting trade themselves. For further criticism of Bravo see below.

⁹³ Hom. *Od.* 8. 161–4 in Rieu's translation.

⁹⁴ Hom. *Il.* 9. 443: *πρηκτῆρ ἔργων*.

⁹⁵ Hom. *Od.* 3. 72–4; cf. 3. 82.

⁹⁶ Cf. Knorringa, 7; Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 33 f., 38 f.

⁹⁷ Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 43 propose a translation as 'agent'. But I cannot see a client, either for Phoenicians or for Homeric aristocrats if the *πρηκτῆρες* of *Od.* 8. 162 are supposed to be Greeks.

⁹⁸ B. Wagner-Hasel, *Die Macht der Kleider* (1994), ch. II.5.c., suggests that the term *kerdos* can signify proceeds from intellectual capability without fighting.

trading that is meant here, profit from raiding or gift trading being socially accepted. This leads to the supposition that proceeds achieved on the basis of reciprocity are socially respected, whereas interest in profit for its own sake, possibly gained by cheating, something exceeding the bounds of normal social convention, is rejected and despised. This is connected with the social embedding of reciprocal exchange mechanisms, while the Phoenicians, as *prēktēres*, have a position outside Greek society and are thereby outside personal relations, such as those of guest-friendship.⁹⁹

However, we might also consider the particular Homeric viewpoint. In the *Odyssey*, exchange is looked at from two perspectives: being at the giving end of negative reciprocity is of course bad. Thus the Phoenicians are bad while the Greeks doing the same thing are good.¹⁰⁰ Still, the Phoenicians are represented as *prēktēres* striving after *kerdos*, whereas Greek actions are disguised as forms of reciprocity.

Bravo¹⁰¹ understands the *prēktēres* as agents conducting trade on behalf of the aristocracy. In his view, the *prēktēr* cannot have been the aristocrat himself, since the latter would have considered 'doing business' not from the technical, commercial point of view, but rather from that of an abstract activity. His interpretation should presumably be understood as indicating that the trader element was already present in Greek society by the Homeric period, thus in the eighth century at the latest. However, clients for such agents hardly existed in the Homeric period, since either we see the heroes themselves embarking upon ventures in order to fill gaps in the subsistence-economy system,¹⁰² or else guests bring those requirements in need of replenishment direct to the *oikos* in the form of gifts.¹⁰³

It is equally difficult to locate the agent, the person receiving such a commission, since the *hetairoi*, whom the aristocrat gathered about him,¹⁰⁴ served as ship's crew and had equal rights, being merely subordinate to him as their leader. They received their portion of the booty. Refugees,¹⁰⁵ *dēmourgōi*¹⁰⁶ with their tools and raw materials, or simply anyone seeking to exchange items elsewhere,¹⁰⁷ could all be taken on board ship. However, this should not be seen as indicating the existence of a trader-agent devoting

⁹⁹ Cf. Morris, *Man* 21, 1986, 6.

¹⁰⁰ This insight I owe to Sitta von Reden. I. J. Winter, in *The Ages of Homer*, ed. J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris (1995), 247–71, esp. 256, approaches Homer's Phoenicians as literary tropes.

¹⁰¹ Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 38f.

¹⁰² Hom. *Od.* 1. 182–4; 3. 301f. with 4. 80–90; 9. 39–42; 19. 281–4.

¹⁰³ Hom. *Il.* 7. 467–71.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Telemachos in Hom. *Od.* 2. 212f.

¹⁰⁵ Hom. *Od.* 15. 277–86.

¹⁰⁶ Hom. *Od.* 17. 381–6; without reference to shipping, however.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Humphreys, 167.

himself exclusively to trading activities. For this reason, it seems to me more plausible to regard the *prēktēr* as standing outside Homeric society.

b. The Archaic period

The ideal of exchange in Hesiod's day continued to be personalized gift-trade.¹⁰⁸ The society described by Hesiod is a rural community,¹⁰⁹ the basis of which is formed by a subsistence economy. Modest amounts of surplus¹¹⁰ are exchanged for metals, tools, or luxury items. The farmer, as producer of his own surplus, conducts such casual trade himself.¹¹¹

However, there are increasing indications in the course of the seventh and sixth centuries BC of a growth in exchange over greater distances. The mass of pottery in the *emporion* Naukratis cannot be explained without the regular presence of traders. One hears of so-called traders acquiring riches in the course of long journeys. Nevertheless, the identity of those persons conducting trade in the Archaic period remains unclear, since there is a lack of written evidence.¹¹²

Herodotus¹¹³ tells us of Kolaïos, a Samian *nauklēros* driven by a storm towards Tartessos while sailing for Egypt. This event can be dated to the 630s by its connection with the foundation of Cyrene.¹¹⁴ While Herodotus uses the description *nauklēros* for Kolaïos here, this cannot be taken as proof that Kolaïos may actually be described as a trader. It is not until the end of the sixth century that the word *nauklēros* appears in the sources when special merchant ships are also discussed;¹¹⁵ however, we do not find sufficient evidence to allow a thorough study of the word before the fifth and fourth centuries.¹¹⁶ The *nauklēros* was the owner of such a merchant ship, and spent his life often but not exclusively away on trading ventures.¹¹⁷ Thus, it is more than likely that we are dealing here with a projection backwards from Herodotus' time into the seventh century. For his part,

¹⁰⁸ Hes. *erg.* 349–63; cf. P. Millet, *PCPhS* 210, 1984, 101 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 85, and *passim*.

¹¹⁰ Hes. *erg.* 632, 672.

¹¹¹ Cf. Hasebroek, 12, 68 f. This 'primitivist' view is challenged by R. Osborne, *Antiquity* 70, 1996, 41 f., in that he stresses the striving after profit [*κέρδος*] which is mentioned in Hes. *erg.* 632 and 644. I do not think this counts for a more 'modern' structure of early exchange as this fits very well into the agonistic mentality without pointing to profit as an end in itself.

¹¹² Cf. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 73 n. 11.

¹¹³ Hdt. 4. 152; cf. A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (1980), 138 f.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Austin, 14, with n. 1.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Humphreys, 168 f.; Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 29; C. M. Reed, *AncW* 10, 1984, 41 f., with n. 84, assumes that there had been *nauklēroi* before the first mention of the word in our sources.

¹¹⁶ Cf. M. I. Finley, *CPh* 30, 1935, 320–36; J. Velissaropoulos, *Les nautes grecs* (1980), 48–56.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Finley, *CPh* 30, 1935, 334 f., who criticized Knorrhina and Hasebroek.

Hasebroek¹¹⁸ considered the entire story a fifth-century invention, intended to explain the friendship between Cyrene, Thera, and Samos.

Kolaïos went to sea with a group of *hetairoi*; we learn from Herodotus that they made an offering in the Samian Heraion of a tenth part of their profit, dedicating an Argive krater with griffins' heads.¹¹⁹ Further information regarding the purpose of the voyage is lacking, leading to the supposition that the voyage was a plundering raid in the best Homeric tradition,¹²⁰ particularly since the Samians were famous as pirates and Egypt would seem to have been a preferred target of such raids.¹²¹ There is no reason, therefore, why Kolaïos should necessarily be described as a trader.

Charaxos from Mytilene, the brother of Sappho, journeyed to Naukratis at the end of the seventh century BC. Herodotus¹²² tells us—without giving the reason for Charaxos' stay there—that the latter bought the freedom of the *hetaira* Rhodopis. Strabo,¹²³ while mentioning the love story between the two, also adduces the reason behind Charaxos' voyage to Naukratis, namely that he had brought wine there from Lesbos 'in pursuit of trade' (*κατ' ἐμπορίαν*). Athenaios¹²⁴ takes up this latter expression; however, he does not mention the transportation of wine. Charaxos was an aristocratic landowner who took the surplus from his estates with him when he went on his travels, in order to exchange it either within the context of gift exchange with his hosts or for luxury items in Egypt. Accordingly, he should be seen more as a traveller than as a trader.

When Solon departed on his travels at the beginning of the sixth century BC,¹²⁵ he loaded his ship with the surplus from his property, so as to be in a position to pay for his keep while abroad.¹²⁶ Aristotle¹²⁷ maintains that

¹¹⁸ Hasebroek, 70; F. Heichelheim, *An Ancient Economic History* (1958), 245 f. opposed.

¹¹⁹ This information supplies us with at least a *terminus post quem* for the formation of the story: by the 7th c., the griffin krater had replaced the tripod as a dedicatory object; cf. W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Früh-griechische Kunst* (1982), 24.

¹²⁰ T. Rihll, in J. Rich and G. Shipley (eds.), *War and Society in the Greek World* (1993), 91, considers this kind of warfare a Hobbesian war.

¹²¹ Cf. Strab. 17. 1. 6 (C792).

¹²² Hdt. 2. 135.

¹²³ Strab. 17. 1. 33 (C808).

¹²⁴ Athen. 13. 596b.

¹²⁵ Solon's date is not undisputed; cf. R. W. Wallace, *AJAH* 8, 1983, 81–95 for a detailed discussion resulting in the traditional dating. That Herodotus relates Solon's visit to Amasis (Hdt. 1. 30) is probably due to his tendency to connect events with the time of Amasis' reign; cf. Wallace, op.cit., 87 f. N. Ehrhardt, in *Euphronios und seine Zeit* (1992), 15 f., takes the opposite view and gives a clear account casting serious doubts upon the traditional dating of Solon's Archonship to 594/3 BC. According to his argument, Solon should be dated to the mid-6th c., immediately before Peisistratos. K. Raaflaub, in *I Greci* 2.1, ed. S. Settis (1996), 1053, opts for the traditional dating.

¹²⁶ Cf. Hasebroek, 13; T. W. Gallant, *ABSA* 77, 1982, 122.

¹²⁷ Aristot. *ath. pol.* 11. 1; Plut. *Sol.* 25 speaks of *ναυκλήρια* instead of *ἐμπορία*; Plat. *leg.* 951a ff. for this kind of *θεωρία*; cf. Hasebroek, 13.

Solon had travelled 'in pursuit both of trade and of seeing the world' (κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἄμα καὶ θεωρίαν). Plutarch¹²⁸ explains why Solon is said to have engaged in *emporía*, namely because the reputation of *technē* and *emporía* was not as bad in Solon's day, since the latter fostered an acquaintance with barbarian matters, led to friendship with kings, and was generally the source of many experiences. The good reputation enjoyed here by *emporía* clearly stems not from the acquisition of wealth or livelihood—economic advantage in the narrow sense—but from the advantages arising from travel generally. For this reason, it is difficult to classify Solon as a trader, for the goods which he took with him represented the key to the reciprocal system by means of which he financed his study trip.

A professional trader can perhaps be seen in Sostratos the Aeginetan, son of Laodamas; while he lived towards the end of the sixth century, he nonetheless could represent an exception.¹²⁹ Herodotus,¹³⁰ comparing his wealth with the proceeds Kolaïos had brought home, considers Sostratos' riches to be without rival.¹³¹ Sostratos' historicity is confirmed by a dedicated ship's anchor found in Gravisca in 1970, bearing the following inscription:¹³² Ἀπό/λον/ος Αἰ/γινά/τα ἐμ/ί. Σόστ/ρατος/ ἐποίη/σε ho/ [—] (I am of Aeginetan Apollo; Sostratos (son of) . . . had me made.). The alphabet and dialect used reveal the inscription to be of Aeginetan origin;¹³³ it is dated to the late sixth or early fifth century. Further evidence can perhaps be seen in the trademarks ΣΟ (with three-stroke Σ), found by Johnston¹³⁴ on Attic pottery and attributed by him to Sostratos. About a hundred examples have been found up to the present, all dating back to the years between 535 and 505 BC and originating—where this can be ascertained—in Etruria.

I doubt whether the Sostratos of the Chian WG bowl from Naukratis (c.600 BC)¹³⁵ can be linked with the Aeginetan Sostratos to form a *grande*

¹²⁸ Plut. Sol. 2; cf. 25.

¹²⁹ Cf. Figueira, 241–7; Gallant, *ABSA* 77, 1982, 122. D. Williams, *AA* 1983, 185 n. 62, would like to attribute an inscription found at Naukratis to Sostratos' father: [Α]εωδάμα[s] (?Corinthian column crater; *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21. 782; Bernand i 3, 685 no. 433); O. Murray, *Early Greece* (21993), 225 considers him the founder of a trading house.

¹³⁰ Hdt. 4. 152.

¹³¹ One should remember that Herodotus called him neither *nauklēras*, nor *emporos*, as does M. Torelli, *PP* 37, 1982, 318.

¹³² M. Torelli, *PP* 26, 1971, 55–60 with fig. 7; F. D. Harvey, *PP* 31, 1976, 206–14; A. I. Nemirovsky, *VDI* 159 (1982), 152–62 with English summary; N. Ehrhardt, *ZPE* 60, 1985, 143 n. 33, with further bibliography; M. Torelli, in *The Western Greeks. Exhibition catalogue Venice 1996*, 567 with colour plate.

¹³³ A. W. Johnston, in *LSAG suppl.*, 439f. no. E. Id., *Horos* 7, 1989, 133ff. discusses the Ionian character of *rho*.

¹³⁴ A. W. Johnston, *PP* 27, 1972, 416–23; A. W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (1979), 80ff.

¹³⁵ Cf. V.4.g. *Varia* no. 2 below; Lemos, no. 252*.

genos egineta, as suggested by Torelli.¹³⁶ The Naukratis Sostratos would appear to be completely Ionian in origin, while the Gravisca Sostratos wrote using a purely Aeginetan alphabet and dialect. Torelli is mistaken in seeing the inscription written by [L]eodama[s]¹³⁷ as a mixture of Ionic and Aeginetan alphabets. Therefore, it is unlikely that one could indeed assume that a Greek family of east Ionian origin—Sostratos the Elder—perhaps moving to Aegina for whatever reason, must already have become half-Aeginetan by the second generation—Leodamas—while Sostratos the younger, who dedicated the anchor at Gravisca and was mentioned by Herodotus, wrote in the Aeginetan dialect.

The literary evidence thus mentions only extremely few, uncommonly successful seafarers, or else aristocrats who went to sea for different purposes to those specifically related to trade. Moreover, those seafarers known to us by name were not traders by profession. Equally, the Greek names found on the Naukratis and Gravisca pottery dedications provide at best a very limited basis for a firm statement with regard to the social status of the dedicators.¹³⁸

There has been no lack of attempts to use philological and lexical studies of the various Greek expressions for trader as a way of shedding light upon the identities of the persons participating in trade.¹³⁹ Yet Finley's article serves to reveal the woolly usage of the various Greek words even in the fifth and fourth centuries, quite apart from the almost total absence of sources prior to 500 BC. Thus, any attempt to draw up even an approximately correct picture without employing theoretical concepts will be doomed to failure, for the source material leaves open numerous interpretative possibilities, each of which must be controlled by explicit models.

In the Classical period, there existed alongside the *nauklēros*, the ship-owner, also the *emporos*, the seagoing trader, who generally pursued his business without possessing a ship of his own.¹⁴⁰ Homer¹⁴¹ used the expression in its original meaning of a passenger on board a ship belonging to another person. It may be that Semonides¹⁴² was the first to use the word *emporos* in the sense of trader: but little more information emerges from the

¹³⁶ Torelli, *PP* 37, 1982, 318.

¹³⁷ *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21. 782; Bernard i 3, 685 no. 433 (cf. n. 129 above); Torelli, *PP* 37, 1982, 318 gives wrong reference.

¹³⁸ Torelli's conclusions in *PP* 37, 1982, 304–25 are too far-reaching.

¹³⁹ Cf. Knorrings; Hasebroek, 1–5; id., *Hermes* 58, 1923, 393 ff., 422 ff.; Finley, *CPh* 30, 1935, 320–36; Bravo, *DHA* 1, 1974, 126–32, 149–54, 163–9; id., *DHA* 3, 1977, 1–59; id., *DHA* 10, 1984, 99–100; Mele; id., *DHA* 12, 1986, 67–109.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Finley, *CPh* 30, 1935, 333 ff.

¹⁴¹ Hom. *Od.* 2. 319; 24. 300; cf. Knorrings, 7; Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 30.

¹⁴² Semonides frg. 16 (West); cf. Knorrings, 16.

very brief fragment handed down by Athenaios and Clement of Alexandria dealing with perfume, than that an *emporos* had arrived who had clearly brought luxury articles with him. At first sight, there is nothing to indicate that the *emporos* was not simply a guest participating in gift exchange, one who had travelled on the ship of another and had brought precious gifts. However, if one examines the context—the second half of the seventh century—in which this fragment is to be set, then it could perhaps be concluded from the presence of an *empōrion* such as Naukratis and an increase in the importance of *emporía* that Semonides was indeed speaking of a professional trader even at this early time.

Bravo¹⁴³ believes that the word *emporos* could already have been used as long ago as Hesiod to describe a trader, in addition to its usual meaning as seen in the *Odyssey* of a passenger on board the ship of another. He derives this from the meaning he gives to *emporía* in Hesiod:¹⁴⁴ *commerce maritime*. However, this meaning is not absolutely certain, since Hesiod's world is a rural one in which the *nautilē* and *emporía* represent part of rural existence, rather than an independent occupation.¹⁴⁵ Mele¹⁴⁶ likewise sees *emporía* here as signifying trade. In contrast to Hesiod's *commercio ergon*, however, in which trade is merely one way among others of earning one's living, *emporía* signifies a specialized form of trade, one detached from other *erga* and with the intention of profit. The *emporos* was an isolated individual without a ship or crew of his own, travelling as a passenger and pursuing a specialized activity with which he had his name in common.

Bravo's principal argument¹⁴⁷ is that trade in the Archaic period was conducted by agents dispatched by wealthy landowners on the latter's ships and with the latter's goods, since these landowners would have been unable to engage in trading themselves for reasons of reputation. Bravo himself admits that this is hypothetical, based upon his interpretation of a lead letter found in 1970 at Berezan, on the north shore of the Pontus, near Olbia. Since then, he has tried in several articles to substantiate his argument by means of philological studies. Additionally, it is his declared intention to improve on Hasebroek. Without going into the details of Bravo's philological argument, I have the impression that he places too great an emphasis upon the economic interests of the aristocracy—especially assumed ones concerning export—thereby losing sight of the political and social frame-

¹⁴³ Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 30; id., *DHA* 10, 1984, 135 f.

¹⁴⁴ Knorringa, 13; Martin, 280; Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 156, ascribed to *emporía* in Hes. *erg.* 646 the meaning of trade.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hasebroek, 68 f.

¹⁴⁶ Mele, 40–6, 92 ff.

¹⁴⁷ Bravo, *DHA* 1, 1974, 126–32, 149–54, 163–9; id., *DHA* 3, 1977, 1 f.; id., *DHA* 10, 1984, 99 f.; P. Garnsey, in *Trade*, 129 f., rejects the idea of agents in Roman trade.

work.¹⁴⁸ He assumes that the aristocracy exported not only the agricultural surplus arising from their estates but also items of craftsmanship, produced by dependent artists and slaves.¹⁴⁹

If the active traders were indeed agents, then I can imagine this only within the context of the polis—in other words, that they were commissioned by those holding political responsibility to provide food, metals, and other things necessary for maintaining social order. It goes without saying that the rich shipowners possessed the wherewithal to equip a ship and its crew. However, I find rather questionable the attempt to see in the somewhat dubious *naukrariai* of early Athenian history¹⁵⁰ an organization for conducting trade in agreement with the polis.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, it is anything but certain that Athens needed to import grain regularly before the fifth century.¹⁵²

Mele¹⁵³ considers the aristocrats of Homeric times to have pursued a *commercio prexis*, whereby trade was but one occupation among others. This corresponds to Hesiod's *commercio ergon*, which was one activity alongside other agricultural activities. However, the *commercio prexis* was used primarily in the acquisition of prestige goods, whereas the basic purpose of the *commercio ergon* was the acquisition of essential foodstuffs. In regarding Hesiod as an aristocrat, Mele places him in the Homeric tradition of polemic against specialized trade.¹⁵⁴ Simultaneously, however, he attempts to prove that the rich nobles, following the Homeric tradition, were actively involved in trade. In this context, he cites some of those I have already dealt with above and hope to have demonstrated that they should not in fact be described as traders. It is precisely here that the weakness of Mele's argument is to be found, in that he is interpreting the Homeric *prexis* as already a *commercio*, one with which the *emporía* of the Archaic period is intermingled—and this despite his own rigid distinction of the

¹⁴⁸ For further criticism cf. P. Cartledge, in *Trade*, 7 f.

¹⁴⁹ Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 25.

¹⁵⁰ Hdt. 5. 71. 2 mentions the *ναύκαραι* in the context of the Kylonian affair, which can be dated roughly to the 630s BC. Thuk. 1. 126. 8 names the archons, whose list begins 682/1 BC (cf. T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* 68, 1948, 120), but this might be a later construction. In Aristot. *ath. pol.* 8. 3; cf. 21. 5 (cf. Rhodes, *Commentary on Aristot. ath. pol.* (1981), 151 ff.), the *ναυκάριαι* appear at the time of the Solonian reforms. V. Gabrielsen, *Financing the Athenian Fleet* (1994), 19–24, shows that even their association with the navy cannot be proved.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Bravo, *DHA* 3, 1977, 27 f.

¹⁵² Cf. P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (1988), 119. R. Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures* (1987), 93, 102 f., explains the particularly low status of the grain trader by the subordination of imported grain to home produce. The necessity of importing grain was regarded as failure in home production. The trader who devoted himself entirely to importing grain was not contributing to home production and not even making an effort to subsist.

¹⁵³ Mele, 58–78; cf. Bravo, *DHA* 10, 1984, 100 ff.; for further criticism see Cartledge, in *Trade*, 8–12.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Millet, *PCPhS* 210, 1984, 86 ff.

latter. According to Mele, the Homeric heroes engaged in trade, and he therefore sees the same as holding true for the rich aristocrats in the Archaic period.

These discussions may have brought some new insights; nonetheless, the identity and social status of the traders remains unclear. Basically, all that can be learned is that in Homeric times the rich *oikos*-owners went voyaging with their *hetairoi*, acquiring goods through a personalized gift-exchange, be it generalized or balanced reciprocity, and carrying out piracy or raids (negative reciprocity). Gradually, poorer people, perhaps prompted by the example of the Phoenicians, would also appear to have exchanged the surplus from their landholdings as a means of supplementing their livelihood. It is possible that they sailed on the ships of the rich, who in all probability continued the Homeric tradition of travelling to guest-friends or barbarian lands in order to collect luxury items and enjoy new experiences. The Greeks of the Archaic period were clearly highly mobile—of necessity or through a thirst for knowledge—whether as colonists, travellers, itinerant craftsmen, or traders. We can do no more than suspect the advent of professional traders, the existence of *empória* presupposing a regular exchange on an institutionalized basis,¹⁵⁵ something that would have to be accompanied by a professionalization of trading. We can assume that these traders regarded the income of a landowner as their ideal, and accordingly abandoned their existence as traders once they had achieved the required success, thereafter devoting themselves to their estates.

3. THE PLACE OF EXTERNAL EXCHANGE: THE *EMPÓRION*

Recent years have seen increasing interest in the Greek *empóron*.¹⁵⁶ Despite many attempts to analyse the ancient use of the term, it seems to defy simple definition. Not only was the ancient notion obviously rather vague, there is also the danger of merely applying our modern understanding shaped by Polanyi's 'port of trade' model.¹⁵⁷ For analytical reasons, we

¹⁵⁵ I. Hahn, in *Trade and Famine*, 32, concludes from the existence of *empória* the importance of trade overseas.

¹⁵⁶ E. Lepore, *PACT* 20, 1988, 47–53; *L'Emporion*, ed. A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (1993) with review by O. M. van Nijf, *CR* 45, 1995, 94 f.; C. Ampolo, in *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ, ΑΙΟΝ* n.s. 1 (1994), 29–36; P. Rouillard, in *Les Grecs et l'occident* (1995), 95–108.

¹⁵⁷ Bresson, in *L'Emporion* (1993), 163 f. complains about the ready assimilation of *empóron* with the 'port of trade'. This is T. J. Figueira's (*AncW* 10, 1984, 23–30) methodological fault: he simply equates all *empória* with 'ports of trade' in order to prove the inapplicability of this concept. Rouillard, in *Les Grecs et l'occident* (1995), 106 ff., modifies the 'port of trade' model to the extent that it cannot any more be regarded as a device of administered trade. This consequently enables him to call *empória* on the Iberian Peninsula 'ports of trade'. Since the administrative context proved decisive to Polanyi in setting up his ideal-type, Rouillard ends up with a different model altogether, nevertheless it can fulfil a heuristic value.

should first try to establish the ancient usage taking into account archaeological evidence from places termed in antiquity *emporía* before we can decide, if some of them indeed approximate to the ideal-type 'port of trade'.

With caution, two meanings of the word *emporion* may be established. The oldest incidence of the former meaning is found in Herodotus,¹⁵⁸ where it is used to describe a settlement the population of which is involved in *emporía*, usually lying at the margins of the Greek world.¹⁵⁹ The second meaning of the word refers to the market-place in the harbour area, lying apart from the area of the town itself.¹⁶⁰

Lehmann-Hartleben¹⁶¹ sees the origin of the *emporion* in the place mentioned in Herodotus' description¹⁶² of the Carthaginian expeditions to the north-west coast of Africa, even though Herodotus does not actually use the word itself in this context. There the Carthaginians exchanged articles for gold with Libyan tribes. What Herodotus is describing here can be called 'silent trade':¹⁶³ there is no direct contact whatsoever between the two exchange partners, the one side withdrawing to its ships while the other examines the objects laid out on the shore. When the former comes ashore again, the latter withdraws. Accordingly, this place is regarded by the two communities concerned as a neutral place of exchange, and neither party need fear attack. Polanyi¹⁶⁴ regarded this as the embryonic form of an *emporion*, as the precursor of the 'port of trade'. One can here perceive the origin of the modern fusion of both concepts.

In describing the travels of the Samian *nauklēros* Kolaïos, Herodotus¹⁶⁵ mentions that the *emporion* Tartessos had been pristine prior to Kolaïos' visit. However, this statement contradicts Herodotus' previous claim to the effect that the Phocaeans were the first Greeks to discover Tartessos.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that the Phoenicians would have

¹⁵⁸ Hdt. 1. 165; 2. 178–9; 3. 5; 4. 17, 20, 24, 108, 152; 7. 158; 9. 106.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. C. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 219 n. 22. This first meaning is further subdivided by O. M. van Nijf, *CR* 45, 1995, 95, who distinguishes a specialized settlement, the locus for exchange between different cultural systems, from a wider use of the term in which any city in which trade of a wider region was concentrated could be called *emporion*. M. Casewitz, in *L'Emporion* (1993), 15, emphasizes that in Herodotus *emporía* are close to waterways whereas in Strabo such connection is lost.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. K. Wachsmuth, *REV* 2 Sp. 2532–4 s.v. 'Empóron'; Lehmann-Hartleben, 28 f.; J. Velissaropoulos, *DHA* 3, 1977, 61 f.

¹⁶¹ Lehmann-Hartleben, 31.

¹⁶² Hdt. 4. 196.

¹⁶³ Cf. Polanyi, *Essays*, 243; Renfrew, in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, 6.

¹⁶⁴ Polanyi, *Essays*, 241 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Hdt. 4. 152.

¹⁶⁶ Hdt. 1. 163. Archaeological evidence for the presence of Phocaeans can be seen in a coin, although this served only as an amulet or gift; cf. A. E. Furtwängler, *AM* 92, 1977, 61–70.

been in Tartessos before the Greeks.¹⁶⁷ According to Herodotus, Tartessos was ruled in the sixth century BC by a king,¹⁶⁸ who presumably controlled the rich silver deposits in the hinterland. The Phocaeans formed a friendship with him, thereby gaining access to the metal deposits. The archaeological material has revealed that what is probably the Tartessos of literature comprised a main settlement at Huelva, and some secondary settlements in the vicinity of the natural resources.¹⁶⁹ From Herodotus' perspective, the main settlement must have served as the centre of exchange, and he accordingly described it as an *empóron*.

When the Phocaeans left their town, fleeing from the Persians, they sought to purchase from the Chians the Oenussai group of islands to the north-east of Chios. But the Chians feared, as Herodotus describes,¹⁷⁰ that these islands could become an *empóron*, with the consequence that Chios itself would then be cut off (*ἀποκλήειν*). While this should not be interpreted as a possible safeguarding of 'trade monopolies',¹⁷¹ the fact remains that the Phocaeans would have cut them off from a favourable waterway and would have attracted ships to their *empóron*. Here, too, Herodotus apparently employs the term *empóron* to describe a settlement in its entirety.

Herodotus¹⁷² tells of a suggestion of the Peloponnesians that those Greeks who had fought on the Persian side should be driven out of their *empória* and their land given to the Ionians. But the Athenians were opposed to the suggestion, concerned as they were about their *apoikiai*, as Herodotus expressed it. Here, in employing the term *empóron*, Herodotus must have considered entire settlements based on the pursuit of *empória*.

This meaning is presumably also valid in the context of the Pontic *empória*.¹⁷³ Herodotus mentions an *empóron* on the Borysthenes river (the Dnieper), meaning Olbia.¹⁷⁴ According to ancient sources,¹⁷⁵ Olbia was

¹⁶⁷ Ps.-Aristot. *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* 135; cf. B. Shefton, in *Phönizier* 339 ff. The first archaeological evidence for Phoenicians is dated to after 800 BC; cf. Aubet, 222, who gives the date of the first Phoenician imports as 770–760 BC. However, Aubet, 170 ff., gives a good résumé of modern assumptions about the priority of either Phoenicians or Greeks in the west, thereby qualifying my argument.

¹⁶⁸ Hdt. 1. 163.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. T. Judice Gamito, *ARC* 3, 1984, 94. Aubet, 177 ff., 219 fig. 45, uses Tartessos to describe the whole region.

¹⁷⁰ Hdt. 1. 165. 1.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Starr, 434 f. C. Ampolo, in *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ, ΑΙΟΝ* n.s.1 (1994), 32 f., stresses the role of *empória* as collecting-points of taxes and dues and interprets Herodotus' text accordingly.

¹⁷² Hdt. 9. 106.

¹⁷³ Hdt. 4. 24; 4. 108, which cannot be identified. Hdt. 4. 20, 110 mentions the *empóron* at Lake Maiëtis called Kremnoi; however, this cannot be located either.

¹⁷⁴ Hdt. 4. 17, 18.

¹⁷⁵ Strab. 7. 3. 17 (c306); Steph. Byz. s.v. *Βορυσθένης*.

founded by Miletus; Eusebius¹⁷⁶ gives the date of foundation as the year 647/6 BC, although the archaeological finds scarcely confirm this, since the earliest stray finds date back only to after 630 BC.¹⁷⁷ The pottery is similar to that found in Naukratis, of East Greek origin with a substantial Chian element, the latter also reflected in architecture.¹⁷⁸ The first Greek finds from the peninsula of Berezan come from about the same time, towards the end of the seventh century. Hence the supposition that the Greeks had first settled here before moving to the mainland to found Olbia¹⁷⁹ cannot be ascertained archaeologically. Berezan seems to have existed alongside Olbia, possibly entering into a synoikismos with her.¹⁸⁰ During the sixth century numerous agrarian settlements were built on Olbian territory.¹⁸¹

Even if Herodotus describes Olbia as an *empóron*, it might have been planned from the beginning as an *apoikia*, or resembled it more and more; the existence of political institutions which seem to have come from Miletus show this connection at least for the later period.¹⁸² One of the two oldest stone buildings lies directly adjacent to the *agora*, near the sanctuary,¹⁸³ and is presumably a public building. The sixth-century population lived in standardized huts partly sunk into the ground which reveal a uniform arrangement. This confirms the theory of a pattern of *apoikia* construction in accordance with a prior plan. Herodotus' description of this as an *empóron* is based in all probability upon its importance as a trading centre for grain in the fifth century BC.¹⁸⁴

Pantikapaion, the modern-day Kerch, likewise did not come into being

¹⁷⁶ Eusebios 95 (Helm²). cf. J. G. Vinogradov and S. D. Kryžickij, *Olbia. Eine altgriechische Stadt im nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum* (1995), 62 f., 127, take this reference to designate Berezan rather than Olbia. This might fit their argument, but Borysthenes is generally understood to mean Olbia in the ancient sources. Cf. bibliography in AR 1992/93, 95.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 250 f.; id., in G. Tsatskheladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea* (1998), 201 f. (late MWG I or II according to R. M. Cook). Vinogradov and Kryžickij, op. cit., 127, date its foundation archaeologically even later, to 600 BC or the beginning of the 6th c.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 243.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. J. Vinogradov, *Olbia* (1981), 18.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Ehrhardt, 76 f.; G. Tsatskheladze, in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation, Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G. Tsatskheladze and F. De Angelis (1994), 117–21. According to Vinogradov and Kryžickij, op. cit., 64 Berezan developed into one of the settlements in the Olbian chora during the 4th c., perhaps because it lost its importance as an *empóron* when Olbia built its own harbour.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Vinogradov, op. cit., 14 with fig. 1 of the Olbian chora. See also A. Wasowicz, *DHA* 6, 1980, 11 ff.

¹⁸² Cf. F. Graf, *MH* 31, 1974, 209 ff.; Vinogradov, op. cit., 20; Ehrhardt, 75–9, remains doubtful about Milesian elements.

¹⁸³ Cf. R. Rolle, in *Handel und Verkehr*, 474 with fig. 5.

¹⁸⁴ T. Noonan, *AJPh* 94, 1973, 241 f., takes the view that grain from the Pontus was not exported until the late 6th c. BC. Before then, the colonies were agricultural settlements.

as an *empóron*.¹⁸⁵ Noonan¹⁸⁶ reaches the conclusion that Pantikapaion was a settlement of Greek emigrants in foreign territory, only becoming an important *empóron* in the Classical period. There is no reason why the oldest Greek sherds found there, perhaps from the end of the seventh century, should necessarily prove the presence of trade connections; they primarily demonstrate merely a Greek presence in the area. The thin distribution of the oldest Greek finds far up the Bug and Dnieper rivers beyond Greek settlements is also no more than an indication either of sporadic exploratory trips by Greeks to the area or of gift exchange,¹⁸⁷ and constitutes no evidence of settlements or trade links.¹⁸⁸

In the towns in Colchis, the eastern part of the Black Sea, the earliest traces of Greek settlement date from the sixth century.¹⁸⁹ For this reason, it should not be assumed, as Lordkipanidze does,¹⁹⁰ that this area was settled by Greeks within the earlier period of colonization. The Greeks would also have encountered an organized polity among the Colchians, though the case for a powerful kingdom in early Colchis has still to be made,¹⁹¹ who themselves practised agriculture and exercised a developed metal technology,¹⁹² something which would have considerably restricted the possibility of founding *apoikiai*. There are possibly four settlements which could be termed *apoikiai*.¹⁹³ However, there is little evidence for either an actual foundation or a first step towards an *empóron*. Before this, apparently occasional Greek ships, on the look-out for metals to be found in the hinterland, passed by and left behind Chian and Lesbian amphorae from the seventh and sixth centuries bearing witness of increased exchange.¹⁹⁴

At any rate, the argument that colonies generally began as *empória*¹⁹⁵ can-

¹⁸⁵ Strab. 7. 4. 4 (c309); 11. 2. 5 (c494); C. M. Danoff, *RE Suppl.* 9 (1962), 1118–24 s.v. 'Pontos Euxeinós'; Ehrhardt, 80.

¹⁸⁶ T. Noonan, *AJA* 77, 1973, 77–81.

¹⁸⁷ A. X. Kocybala, 'Greek Colonization on the North Shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic Period', Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania (1978), 125, regards it as possible that these finds were transported by nomads.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 243 f. Kocybala, op.cit., 125 f., cannot see any conclusive archaeological evidence to support pre-colonization trade or contacts. The earliest and isolated Greek finds of one or two vase frags. are not significantly older than those from Berezan (106 f.); cf. her map 2 on p. 108.

¹⁸⁹ O. Lordkipanidze, *Das alte Kolchis und seine Beziehungen zur griechischen Welt vom 6. zum 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (1985), 23 ff., 37 ff.; id., *Archäologie in Georgien* (1991), 125–32, assumes Greek colonies much earlier. D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* (1994), 73–87, gives a very clear overview of the methodological problems surrounding Greek colonization. Ibid., 92 ff., for the beginning of Greek settlement.

¹⁹⁰ Lordkipanidze, *Das alte Kolchis* (1985), 27 and n. 19.

¹⁹¹ Braund, op. cit., 87–91.

¹⁹² Cf. Lordkipanidze, *Das alte Kolchis* (1985), 30 ff. with n. 24; A. Wasowicz, *DHA* 6, 1980, 13 ff., on the character of Greek colonization in Kolchis; Braund, op.cit., 89 ff.

¹⁹³ Braund, op.cit., 117 f.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. D. Kacharava, *AA* 1995, 63–73.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. E. Kirsten, *Die griechische Polis als historisch-geographisches Problem des Mittelmeerraumes* (1956), 70; A. Gwynn, *JHS* 38, 1918, 106; Lehmann-Hartleben, 32; G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *JHS* 87, 1967, 179;

not be confirmed. It is likely that any knowledge regarding areas suitable for agriculture often stemmed from people who had already been there.¹⁹⁶ However, a greater differentiation of so-called precolonial trade¹⁹⁷ must be made, since not every movement of objects can be described as trade. For this reason, any talk of 'trade routes'¹⁹⁸ along which colonies were founded to secure the way is quite out of the question. Indeed, the development of trade interests often followed colonization.¹⁹⁹

The principal difference between the *empóron* as settlement and the *apoikia* may be seen in the fact that the former represents a spontaneous coming-together of a mostly mixed trading community, whereas the latter was founded by a metropolis through a formal act, at a particular time.²⁰⁰ However, this differentiation is somewhat distorted by Herodotus' tendency to describe also as *empória* those *apoikiai* which were then known as trading centres. The *apoikiai* came into being for the most part owing to overpopulation in the home poleis, the need for land, or internal or external pressure on their metropoleis.²⁰¹ However, the assumption of commercial reasons behind the colonization movement has led accordingly to greater emphasis on the *empóron*.²⁰² In Naukratis, we find an example of a genuine *empóron*, which does not become a polis until the Hellenistic period, maintaining until then its character as a settlement for trading purposes. Similarly, Al Mina was presumably merely a mixed settlement²⁰³ in the vicinity of material sources for the duration of its entire existence.

A very early example of a mixed community of traders has been found at Kommos in Southern Crete.²⁰⁴ This place was apparently of importance as

R. Werner, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 35 f.; for a critical approach to this argument, Ehrhardt, 69 f.; Noonan, *AJA* 77, 1973, 77.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. C. Roebuck, *CPh* 48, 1953, 14.

¹⁹⁷ See above, IV.1, for a discussion of pre-colonial trade.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. O. Murray, *Early Greece* (21993), 107 f.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. R. M. Cook, *JHS* 66, 1946, 86; F. Heichelheim, *An Ancient Economic History* (1958), 239 ff.; E. Will, in *Trade and Politics*, 43; Starr, 63.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Graham, 4 ff. D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (1992), 107 ff., maintains how the distinction between *empóron* and *apoikia* is blurred in the case of Pithekoussai. That the *empóron* does not represent a political category is confirmed by P. Counillon, in *L'Emporion* (1993), 48 f., in his examination of the texts of Müller's *GGM*.

²⁰¹ Cf. Gwynn, *JHS* 38, 1918, 88–98; A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (1980), 19–25; Figueira, 195 with n. 54.

²⁰² e.g. A. W. Gomme, in id., *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (1937), 44. Finley, in *Trade and Politics*, 12, described Gomme's reaction to Hasebroek as 'a schoolboy version of Adam Smith'.

²⁰³ Boardman, *OJA* 9, 1990, 182 f., suggests the term *enoikismos*. J. Perrault, in A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.) *L'Emporion* (1993), 82, regards *empória* as those places where Greeks lived in separate quarters. Since he only observes mixed populations in Northern Syria and hardly any Greeks, he accordingly denies the existence of Greek *empória*. However, he considers 'ports of trade'.

²⁰⁴ J. W. Shaw, *Hesperia* 55, 1986, 219–69 for the latest in a series of preliminary reports.

a harbour in late Minoan times,²⁰⁵ and one building might be identified as Minoan boathouse. After the Minoan period, this former major port was abandoned, only to be revived by Phoenicians as early as the late tenth century. The excavators dug up a temple of familiar Phoenician type,²⁰⁶ and over 200 fragments of Phoenician pottery have been found. During the late eighth and seventh centuries we can see increasing Greek activity of which building Q bears witness by finds not only of local Cretan ware, but Corinthian, Laconian, East Greek imported ware, and many different sorts of amphorae as well. Building Q was a multipurpose building which was abandoned by the end of the seventh century.²⁰⁷ Boiotians have been identified by inscriptions.²⁰⁸ This place seems to belong to the kind of *emporion*, being a place determined by trade and its personnel. However, it does not represent a 'port of trade' proper, since an administrative power in the hinterland is apparently lacking.

According to Strabo,²⁰⁹ Emporion—modern Ampurias in Catalonia—which was founded by Massalia at the beginning of the sixth century, was a double town: within a common wall there was a further wall dividing the town into two halves, the one inhabited by the aboriginal *Indiketans*, the other by Greeks.²¹⁰ However, the oldest settlement, *Palaiopolis*, lies on a small island, which is also the site of the sanctuary of *Ephesian Artemis*. This settlement's primary purpose was presumably the acquisition of raw materials and local products and the exploration of further possibilities of winning land for agriculture. The division of the settlement mentioned by Strabo could well indicate an attempt to regulate the coexistence of two cultures. However, the fact that it does not clearly represent a device of administered trade casts doubts upon the assumption that the *emporion* on the island represented a 'port of trade'.²¹¹ On the mainland, a form of polis developed following the Greeks' move there, although its constitution

²⁰⁵ Cf. *Kommos* iii (1992), 169–83.

²⁰⁶ J. W. Shaw, *AJA* 93, 1989, 165–83.

²⁰⁷ Cf. A. W. Johnston, *Hesperia* 62, 1993, 339–82.

²⁰⁸ Csapo, *ZPE* 88, 1991, 212 ff.; id., *ZPE* 96, 1993, 235–6.

²⁰⁹ Strab. 3. 4. 8 (c159 f.); 4. 1. 8 (c184); Ps.-Skymn. 204 (Müller, *GGM*, 204); Skylax 3 (Müller, *GGM*, 17); Pol. 3. 39. 7, 76. 1; Liv. 21. 60. 2; 26. 19. 11; 34. 9. 1 f.; cf. E. Sanmartí, *PP* 37, 1982, 281 ff.; A. Domínguez Monedero, *AEA* 59, 1986, 3–12. P. Rouillard, *Les Grecs et la péninsule Ibérique de VIIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (1991) 244–81. We do not have to assume that Emporion was an *apoikia* solely on the grounds of later sources mentioning a 'foundation'. Cf. below, VI.1., for discussion concerning Naukratis.

²¹⁰ Strabo's term *emporitai* for the inhabitants of Emporion has found confirmation in a lead sheet containing a business letter of the beginning of the 5th c. BC (*LSAG* suppl. 464 B pl. 78). It was published by E. Sanmartí and R. A. Santiago, *ZPE* 68, 1987, 119–27; id., *ZPE* 72, 1988, 100–2; some further corrections by R. A. Santiago, *ZPE* 80, 1990, 70–80; *ZPE* 84, 1990, 14.

²¹¹ Cf. Sanmartí, *PP* 37, 1982, 292; Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 233 ff.

remained unusual on account of the presence of the two populations.²¹² However, its name surely reflects the settlement's original character.

The number and duration of such *empória* reveal them to have been merely of ephemeral importance; they cannot be regarded as significant for the reasons and intentions of colonization. A clear conceptual distinction should be made in our modern usage between *empórion* and *apoikia*, since their characteristics and functions were apparently different. Thus, one should also refrain from using the term 'trading colony',²¹³ since this represents a mixture of the two concepts.

There is hardly any reason to see a causal connection between the appearance of regular external exchange and the foundation of *apoikiai*. We should not follow Roebuck²¹⁴ in interpreting 'trade as a stimulant to colonisation' and export interests as the reason for colonization, since there was no question of securing markets. The two activities, trade—meaning the regular search for food and other things necessary for livelihood—and colonization, appeared at the same time, and represent different patterns for the solution of the internal crisis caused by overpopulation, food shortage, lack of land, famines, demand for raw materials, and internal or external political pressures. The citizens of one polis were in favour of founding *apoikiai*, while those of another decided to enter upon trading ventures, in order to obtain what was lacking.²¹⁵

In addition to Herodotus' use of *empórion* to describe a settlement for trading purposes, the term can also be understood as signifying a harbour market-place outside the area of the *asty* itself. Used in this second sense, the *empórion* is closely related to the development of a market-place in the Greek poleis.

Lehmann-Hartleben²¹⁶ has carried out a study of such market-places lying in a harbour complex at some remove from their respective towns. They can be found in many poleis down to Roman times, but always remain separate from the town area itself.²¹⁷ They guarantee legal protection and security to the foreigner docking in the harbour, while simultaneously keeping him at a distance from the town area.²¹⁸ In this way, market-

²¹² Cf. Werner, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 36, 50.

²¹³ Cf. e.g. R. J. Littmann, *The Greek Experiment: Imperialism and Social Conflict, 800–400 BC* (1974), 56.

²¹⁴ Roebuck, in *Trade and Politics*, 99.

²¹⁵ Cf. Figueira, 192–202.

²¹⁶ Apart from those scrutinized by Lehmann-Hartleben, see Emporio on Chios, which had a harbour sanctuary, the town itself being situated on a hill (cf. 'Emporio', 249 ff.); and Gravisca, the harbour of Tarquinia, which holds a sanctuary of Hera and other gods (M. Torelli, *PP* 26, 1971, 44–67; F. Boitani Visentini, in *Gli Etruschi di Tarquinia* (1986), 250–2; ead., in *Santuari d'Etruria* (1985), 141–2; M. Torelli, *PACT* 20, 1988, 181–8.

²¹⁷ Cf. Velissaropoulos, *DHA* 3, 1977, 61.

²¹⁸ Cf. Lehmann-Hartleben, 37.

places develop outside the town area, secured by treaties, and under the religious protection of the gods. They are enclosed—often by a surrounding wall—and thus represent an exception to the normal lack of safety and possible state of war that can arise when persons belonging to different communities encounter one another.²¹⁹

Homer's description of the town of the imaginary Phaeacians²²⁰ leads one to think of such an *empóron*, but care must be taken in its interpretation, since nothing in the portrayal of the harbour situation indicates that exchange transactions occurred there.²²¹ Rather, the place called *agora*²²² is mentioned in connection with the assembly of the people²²³ or the place where *agones* are staged.²²⁴ It is also unlikely that organized external exchange was thought a normal practice there, since it is precisely these Phaeacians who abuse Odysseus, calling him a *prēktēr*.²²⁵ It is not possible to see them as trading people,²²⁶ despite their fantastic ships²²⁷ and names related to seafaring,²²⁸ they are nevertheless a maritime people, albeit one of fantasy. However, we can be sure that the harbour layout served as protection against the forcible entry of foreigners, whether traders, pirates, or other enemies.

Nausikaa describes to Odysseus the harbour and the *agora*, which lie outside the town walls. The *agora*, which has stones set around its border and embedded in the ground,²²⁹ also contains a temple of Poseidon. It is here that the Phaeacians maintain and repair their ships. It can be inferred from this description that the *agora* is a walled place protected by the gods. We do not hear of any particular emphasis on the specific aspect of exchange, the association with an *empóron* can only be considered peripheral.

Thucydides²³⁰ tells us that the Corinthians had always possessed an *empóron* on the Isthmus, thanks to their location. Their ability to offer an *empóron* to Greeks travelling through by land or by sea rendered Corinth a wealthy and powerful city. Thucydides' words can be understood as referring to a market-place lying outside the city but within the territory of the

²¹⁹ Cf. Hasebroek, 135.

²²⁰ Hom. *Od.* 6. 262–9.

²²¹ Lehmann-Hartleben's assumption (p. 15) regarding the double function of the *agora* as meeting-place and market-place, which is expressed in the plural *áyopaí* in Hom. *Od.* 7. 43–5, can be rejected.

²²² For discussion see below, IV.4.

²²³ Hom. *Od.* 8. 5, 12, 16.

²²⁴ Hom. *Od.* 8. 109.

²²⁵ Hom. *Od.* 8. 162.

²²⁶ Cf. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 44.

²²⁷ Hom. *Od.* 8. 555–69.

²²⁸ Hom. *Od.* 8. 111–9.

²²⁹ To Lehmann-Hartleben, 14 f., such a low stone wall is a typical feature of the prehistoric *empóron*. S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City* (1990), 45 ff. considers the visual image of ships, *agora*, walls given by Nausikaa to Odysseus in her description of Scheria as representing abstract notions such as social order, communication with the outside, stability.

²³⁰ Thuk. 1. 13. 5; cf. Strab. 8. 6. 20 (c378).

polis. The importance of the *empóron* for the collection of customs duty and taxes can also easily be imagined.²³¹

A further example, one in which the purpose of a market-place outside the town is clearly to protect the population against domination by foreign influences, is offered by Epidamnos. This Greek colony would appear to have got into trouble with the tribes living in the surrounding countryside.²³² According to Plutarch,²³³ the Epidamnians attempted to protect themselves from Illyrian influence, which had turned some of the citizens bad (*ponēros*) by dispatching an elected *pōlētēs* to the barbarians and offering them a market-place (*agora*). Beaumont²³⁴ saw in the *pōlētēs* a means of maintaining the power of the aristocracy, believing that their appointment to this office enabled them to make trade their monopoly. On the other hand, the market-place called *agora* by Plutarch can be interpreted as an *empóron* lying outside the town, supervised by the *pōlētēs* in an official function, similar to that of the Egyptian superintendent and the *prostatai tou emporiou* in Naukratis.

The Piraeus and Alexandria may serve as further examples of *empória* in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. It emerges from Strabo's description²³⁵ of the harbour of Alexandria that the *empóron* lay in the east harbour, between Cape Lochias and the Heptastadion. The *empóron* contained a sanctuary of Poseidon, later also the Kaisareion and the Bendis sanctuary.²³⁶ Once again, we see the aspect of religious protection for the *empóron*.

The delimited and separately walled *empóron* in the Piraeus is to be found at the Megas Limen.²³⁷ Here the grain was offloaded and offered to the *kapēlos* for resale,²³⁸ supervised by the curators of the *empóron* (*ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου*),²³⁹ who presumably corresponded to the clerks of the market-place (*ἀγορανόμοι*) and controlled the prices.²⁴⁰ Garland²⁴¹ describes the *empóron* in the Piraeus as a 'port of trade', mentioning its importance as a way of alleviating and guaranteeing imports, as the principal harbour and the centre of redistribution, as the zone for non-citizens—

²³¹ R. M. Cook, *JHS* 99, 1979, 152 f., emphasizes the importance of the Diolkos for levying duties on ships in transit.

²³² Thuk. 1. 24, where he also mentions internal difficulties.

²³³ Plut. *mor.* 297 f.

²³⁴ R. L. Beaumont, *JHS* 56, 1936, 167; cf. Finley, in *Trade and Politics*, 14–8, for a critique of Beaumont's interpretation, but without discussion of *empóron*.

²³⁵ Strab. 17. 1. 9 (c794).

²³⁶ Cf. Lehmann-Harteben, 135.

²³⁷ Cf. R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the Fifth to the First Century B.C.* (1987), 152 f., for topography.

²³⁸ Cf. Thuk. 8. 90.

²³⁹ Aristot. *ath. pol.* 51. 4.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Garland, *op.cit.*, 91 f.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 83–95. See S. von Reden, *G&R* 42, 1995, 24–37, on the relationship between *asty* and harbour.

thus functioning as a form of protection against infiltration—and as a means of increasing the state's income.

To summarize, these *empória*, as market-places situated outside their respective towns, separated from and yet dependent upon them, represent a form of protection for the towns, whether from military, social, or economic influences. They are looked after by special officials and serve for the collection of taxes and customs duty.²⁴² For these reasons, they may be described as a kind of 'port of trade', even if they do not display the characteristic of an interface between two different economic systems. Thus, the *empóron*, in its first meaning of a settlement for trading purposes, can be described as a 'port of trade' if it lies on the border zone of influence of a society powerful enough to exert control over this zone. Examples of this can be seen perhaps in Al Mina and clearly in Naukratis. In those cases where a polis such as Olbia or a settlement and its region such as Tartessos is described as an *empóron*, we cannot speak of a 'port of trade'. However, we might consider the model of the gateway community.²⁴³ It is for this reason that the Greek *empóron* cannot be universally equated with the 'port of trade';²⁴⁴ rather, each incidence must be investigated by itself.

It is notable that Demosthenes²⁴⁵ and Plutarch sometimes describe the places of external exchange as *agorai*, a tendency that has continued into modern research. Martin,²⁴⁶ for instance, labelled as *agora* some of the places Lehmann-Hartleben²⁴⁷ termed *empóron*. This shift in the ancient sources could be an indication of a gradual combination of market-places once actually and conceptually different in nature, the one lying inside and the other outside the towns. However, this could only have happened at a time when the *agora* had already taken over the function of a local market-place.²⁴⁸ The existing evidence of places for external exchange—and likewise of the presence of the long-distance trader—at a time before the development of the local market-place on the *agora* confirms the arguments of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Karl Polanyi²⁴⁹ that external trade came into being before internal trade.

²⁴² Cf. Ps.-Aristot. *olk.* 2. 1346^a1 and 7; Velissaropoulos, *DHA* 3, 1977, 61 f. It is with this type of *empóron* that we might speak of a juridical term; cf. Bresson, in *L'Emporion* (1993), 223.

²⁴³ Cf. II.4., above.

²⁴⁴ Pace T. J. Figueira, *AncW* 10, 1984, 23–30.

²⁴⁵ Demosth. 23. (κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους) 39 speaks of ἀγορὰ ἐφόρια.

²⁴⁶ Martin, 284; cf. e.g. Samos, Halikarnassos.

²⁴⁷ Lehmann-Hartleben, 32 f.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Martin, 283.

²⁴⁹ Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 78; Humphreys, 55 with n. 99, objects.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MARKET-PLACE: THE AGORA

In his contribution to *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Walter Neale²⁵⁰ argues that the use of the term 'market' in historical documents does not necessarily imply that a supply-and-demand price mechanism was in operation. Rather, this term indicates the existence of a market-place where a part of internal exchange is conducted. It is important to distinguish the market principle, i.e. the supply-and-demand price mechanism, from the market-place,²⁵¹ since a market-place can exist in embedded economies representing only one market element²⁵² without transforming the whole of the economy into a disembedded one.²⁵³ The *agora* in Greece does not originally represent the market-place; first of all it is closely bound up with the development of the polis as the site of political gatherings. Only gradually does it achieve the additional use of a place of internal exchange.

The word *agora*, as used in the Homeric epics, signifies the assembly of the people in times of peace and war,²⁵⁴ the council or advisory meeting of the Elders,²⁵⁵ and also the place of assembly itself.²⁵⁶ Both Homer and Hesiod also use *agora* to mean a place of jurisdiction.²⁵⁷ The *agora* had a further function as the venue of cultic *agones*.²⁵⁸ The essential nature of the *agora* as an element of Greek society is already present in Homer, who accused the Cyclops of being uncivilized on the grounds of their not possessing counselling assemblies (*ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι*).²⁵⁹ In later times, the *agora* as a locality is regarded as the essential of a genuine polis.²⁶⁰ Thus, the term *agora* and those terms derived from it were initially used only in a political and social context.²⁶¹

Not until Herodotus can we recognize an economic meaning, in the sense of a market-place,²⁶² although he too uses the word *agora* primarily to

²⁵⁰ Neale, in *TM*, 366 f.

²⁵¹ Cf. P. Bohannon and G. Dalton (eds.), *Markets in Africa* (1962), 1–10, for this distinction. J. M. Redfield, in *The Market in History*, ed. B. L. Anderson and A. J. H. Latham (1986), 29–58, follows a rather undifferentiated approach.

²⁵² Cf. II. 3.c, above.
²⁵³ Von Reden, 106 disapproves of regarding the *agora* as the origin of a disembedded economy all the same; according to her, one kind of embedded exchange (social network of *oikoi*) was rather replaced by another one (that of the polis).

²⁵⁴ Hom. *Il.* 2. 53.

²⁵⁵ Hom. *Il.* 18. 274.

²⁵⁶ Hom. *Il.* 16. 387; 18. 497 ff.; Hes. *erg.* 29 is much disputed. C. Starr, *CAH*² iii 3 (1982), 429, ascribes the meaning 'market-place' to *agora* here already.

²⁵⁷ Hom. *Il.* 8. 249 f.; Hom. *Od.* 6. 266; 7. 44; 8. 5, 12, 16, 109; cf. F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (1981), 5 ff.

²⁵⁸ Paus. 10. 4. 1; cf. G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (31920), 162.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Martin, 280.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Martin, 280 f.; F. Heichelheim, *An Ancient Economic History*, 239, dated the 'invasion' of commerce onto the *agora* into the 8th/7th c. BC, which seems definitely too early.

describe a public space, with no specific reference to economic activities. Whether or not the town of which he is speaking is barbarian is of no significance here.²⁶³ Where he is talking of the funeral ceremonies of the Spartans, during which no *agora* may take place,²⁶⁴ the expression refers to public affairs, rather than to matters of economic nature. Herodotus also differentiates between the place of assembly—*agora*—and a place for selling—*prētērion*—when describing the construction of the canal at Mount Athos.²⁶⁵

However, clear evidence for the new aspect is to be seen where Herodotus describes how the Spartans came to Cyrus, who said to their emissaries:

I have never yet been afraid of men who have special meeting places [χῶροι] in the centre of their city, where they swear this and that and cheat each other.²⁶⁶

Herodotus explains his words for the Greek reader as follows:

This was intended by Cyrus as a criticism of the Greeks generally, because they have markets [ἀγοραί] for buying and selling [ὡν ἡ τε καὶ πρὴσι χρέωνται], unlike the Persians, who never buy in open markets [ἀγοραί], and indeed have not a single market-place in the whole country [οὐδέ σφι ἔστι τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή].²⁶⁷

Polanyi took this as evidence first of the absence of market-places in Babylonia,²⁶⁸ overlooking the fact that Herodotus was actually referring to the Persians.²⁶⁹ Secondly, Polanyi saw this passage as demonstrating the existence of local markets in Greece.²⁷⁰

Interestingly, it is only through Herodotus' own words that the meaning of *agora* as market-place is confirmed. No economic sense is put into Cyrus' mouth. Herodotus distinguished between the Greeks and the barbarians, the former being characterized in having market-places where they conducted internal exchange. He would appear to regard it as quite obvious that the *agora* also fulfilled an economic function.

By the fourth century BC, the association of the *agora* with persons conducting trade there is clear-cut. Xenophon²⁷¹ describes where the Persians

²⁶³ Hdt. 1. 37; 4. 78; 5. 46; 7. 24; further evidence in J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (1938) s.v. ἀγορή.

²⁶⁴ Hdt. 6. 58.

²⁶⁵ Hdt. 7. 23; Powell, op.cit., s.v. ἀγορή, ascribed to 7. 23 and 6. 58 the meaning 'market'.

²⁶⁶ Hdt. 1. 153; trans. Selincourt.

²⁶⁷ Hdt. 1. 153; trans. Selincourt.

²⁶⁸ Polanyi, in *TM* 16; Polanyi, *Essays*, 252 f.

²⁶⁹ F. M. Heichelheim, *JESHO* 3, 1960, 109, regards this remark by Herodotus as the insertion of a post-classical copyist. Cf. Polanyi, *Essays*, 258 f. n. 70, for reply. Renger, in *Circulation of Goods in Non-Palatial Context in the Ancient Near East*, *Incunabula Graeca* 82 (1984), 82, 59, 76–81, for market elements in Ancient Mesopotamia.

²⁷⁰ Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 159 ff.

²⁷¹ Xen. *Kyr.* 1. 2. 3.

have public buildings as a free *agora* (ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά), immediately adding that those belonging to the *agora* (ἀγοραῖοι), together with their objects of exchange (ὄνια), are excluded. In this case, the expression *agoraioi* must indeed signify the traders, since they are connected with commodities. Yet it remains open to debate whether the Persians did in fact have a public place which could be described as an *agora*, since the structure of their state was such as to render a place of this nature politically redundant. It is similarly questionable whether there actually were traders in Xenophon's sense, since the economy was structured along redistributive lines. At any rate, conclusions regarding Greek conditions are safer.

Aristotle²⁷² takes up the term *eleuthera agora*, making it the ideal which every polis should strive to attain. There should be a free *agora* below the place of the sanctuaries, to be kept free of all forms of sales transaction. The sales market (ἡ τῶν ὀνίων ἀγορά) should lie some distance away, preferably at a site where it can be reached with equal ease by land and sea.²⁷³

It is thus possible to recognize renewed attempts in the fourth century to remove the economic element from the *agora*, something surely connected to the anti-economic mentality of the philosophers. Perhaps this counter-movement indicates precisely the development of the political meeting-place into a market-place. The efforts of the philosophers to shift the market-place back outside again may be a recollection of the *empóron* as a harbour market-place separated from the area of the polis.

The origin of the market-place in Greece was based upon an internal social development, one leading to an increasing division of labour and giving rise to a separation into supply and demand groups. The craftsman, working as a specialist, had to obtain his food in exchange for his products. In Homeric times, he travelled as a *dēmiourgos* from oikos to oikos, thereby making a living for himself.²⁷⁴ As soon as he set up his workshop at a permanent place within a polis, he had to obtain his food through exchange with those farmers coming into the *asty* with the intention of exchanging their surplus for artisans' products, among other things, such an exchange expediently taking place at a central place such as the *agora*.²⁷⁵ Nor was there a great difference between the craftsman and the shopkeeper (*kapēlos*) in Aristophanes' day, both practising their profession in the *ergastērion*, a word meaning both workshop and straightforward shop.²⁷⁶ It was not until

²⁷² Aristot. *pol.* 7. 1331^a31 ff.

²⁷³ Aristot. *pol.* 7. 1331^a1 ff.; Plat. *leg.* 12. 952 Ef. wants to control the traders by means of officials.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 17. 382–5.

²⁷⁵ However, we cannot assume, like Rostovtzeff, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 92, 1932, 335 n.1, that an *Industrie*, i.e. the craftsmen, worked for an unspecified market which was determined by traders.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Knorringa, 51 f.; Finley, *CPh* 30, 1935, 333, describes the *κάπηλος* as a shopkeeper.

the fourth century that the *kapēlos* became unambiguously the trader, appearing in the local market-place without producing anything himself,²⁷⁷ in contrast to the *emporos*, the long-distance trader.²⁷⁸

A further reason for the developmental possibilities of local market-places may be seen in the manner in which the Greek economy was originally based upon reciprocal exchange mechanisms. A farmer's surplus was not collected by a redistributive system, and so 'free' exchange was possible.²⁷⁹

Market elements can be identified at the latest by the Classical period. There are local market-places, as the *agora*, and there is a division of labour, resulting in supply and demand groups who exchange the corresponding commodities. However, an expansion of market institutions cannot be assumed, since this would be accompanied by increased production for the market. This would appear to justify Finley's scepticism regarding the importance of market-places.²⁸⁰ He sees the farmers as representing the smallest and most inflexible market for urban production, since the subsistence economy in essential goods continued to determine the overall picture. Exports alone could have brought about an increase in production, if only the subsistence economy and the consumer mentality had not acted as a brake here as well. A system of price-determining markets did not come into being, however, despite the growing significance of single market elements, since supply-and-demand price mechanisms continued to be absent in those sectors affecting work and landed property where other, extra-economic factors were to prove decisive.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Cf. Finley, *CPh* 30, 1935, 335 f.; for *κάπηλος* also Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 183–7.

²⁷⁸ *Plat. rep.* 371 D; cf. Knorringa, 113 f.; Hasebroek, 1.

²⁷⁹ Humphreys, 50, reminds us that the so-called agonistic mentality must have played a role here, too. One might also wonder if reciprocity was the historical exception which has to be explained, not redistribution.

²⁸⁰ M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (1985), 138.

²⁸¹ Cf. W. Nippel, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 11.

EXCURSUS: The economic background of the twelve poleis mentioned in Herodotus 2. 178

Herodotus talks of the participation of a total of twelve poleis in the foundation of sanctuaries in Naukratis. Of these, Chios, Teos, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Samos, and Miletus are Ionian; Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, and Aegina Dorian; and Mytilene Aeolian poleis. There is no room here for an extensive discussion of the prevalent economic conditions in each of them; rather, it is my intention to present such information as will serve to clarify their role in connection with Naukratis. We know that some of them were active in seafaring and trading in the Archaic period. Is this sufficient, however, to answer the question why they participated in Naukratis? What were they looking for in Egypt? Was it a lack of grain that drew the Greeks to Egypt?

We know of Aegina and Phocaea that their populations sought to earn their livelihood early on as 'trading peoples'. For this reason, they can even be described as trading states.²⁸² Although next to nothing is known about Archaic Phaselis, it plausibly should be included in this group, which will be treated first. The remaining poleis are dealt with in the Herodotean order.

AEGINA

Dorian Aegina is the only one of the poleis under discussion not situated on the coast of Asia Minor. The island offers but little arable land for cultivation, explaining its reputation even in antiquity as being poor in natural resources.²⁸³ Nevertheless, the remains of town buildings and of the Temple of Aphaia would lead one to see Aegina as having been a wealthy polis, something that is only to be explained by its inhabitants' specialization in seafaring,²⁸⁴ especially since Hesiod describes them as inventors of ships,²⁸⁵ while Pindar characterizes them as famed for their ships and 'long-oared'.²⁸⁶

Their trading activities probably began as a form of negative reciprocity, namely

²⁸² Cf. Gehrke, 172.

²⁸³ Strab. 8. 6. 16 (c375); cf. A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften* iii 1, 46, 52f.; H. Winterscheidt, *Aigina* (1938), 4 ff. Figueira, 22–64, has calculated the number of inhabitants and agricultural products, concluding that it would have been necessary to import food.

²⁸⁴ Paus. 2. 29. 5; 8. 5. 8; cf. Winterscheidt, *op.cit.*, 32ff.; Gehrke, 173.

²⁸⁵ Hes. fr. 205 M.–W. *apud* Schol. Pind. N. 3. 21.

²⁸⁶ Pind. N. 5. 9; O. 8. 20.

as piracy.²⁸⁷ This activity might have brought them into conflict with the Samians, themselves notorious pirates.²⁸⁸ The Aeginetan elite was especially renowned for its aristocratic lifestyle, participating with outstanding success in *agones* and attaching great importance to particularly extravagant graves, while their guest-friendship was famous.²⁸⁹ Yet their members differ from the elites of other Greek poleis, in that, unable to earn a substantial income as big landowners from agriculture—the land being inadequate for this purpose²⁹⁰—they had to rely upon revenue from seafaring. The Aeginetan elite thus did not correspond to the ideal of its equals in other Greek poleis; nonetheless, it remained true to the ideals of reciprocity, as seen in the emphasis upon guest-friendship, for instance.²⁹¹

The *dēmos* also played a considerable part in trading activities, to the extent that in the fourth century Aristotle²⁹² was able to describe the group of the *emporikon* as characterizing the Aeginetan *dēmos*. Like the Phoenicians, who presumably will have been the model here, the Archaic Aeginetans probably traded in slaves and *athurmata*, trinkets, these later even being called *Aiginaia empolē*.²⁹³ The almost total absence of any resources of their own as goods for exchange led to a trade in the products of others, which they transported as middlemen. It is highly likely that they were responsible for many of the Corinthian, Attic, and Laconian vases found in Naukratis.²⁹⁴ The example of Sostratos' trademarks provides evidence of a thriving transportation of Attic pottery to Etruria. In addition to their function as middlemen, they had worked metals²⁹⁵ themselves; however, no identification of Aeginetan fine pottery from the later Archaic period has been made.²⁹⁶

At the end of the sixth century, Aegina became an important trading city, its *empōrion*²⁹⁷ affording foreigners special protection and recording considerable income from customs duties. The cause of this may have lain in the decline of the cities of Asia Minor following the Persian conquest, but Aegina's central location will also have played a role.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Figueira, 202–8.

²⁸⁸ Hdt. 3. 59.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Winterscheidt, op. cit., 46ff.; Figueira, 281.

²⁹⁰ Pace Winterscheidt, op. cit., 27ff., 32.

²⁹¹ Pind. N. 4. 20f.; O. 8. 25ff.; Schol. Pind. O. 8. 29b. Winterscheidt, op.cit., 29ff., argued against the interpretation of passages in Pindar and Bakchylides as concerning traders.

²⁹² Aristot. pol. 4. 1291^a24.

²⁹³ Ephor. *FGrHist* 70F176 apud Strab. 8. 6. 16 (c376); cf. Winterscheidt, op.cit., 22ff.

²⁹⁴ D. Williams, AA 1993, 589–96, esp. 595, suggests that Aeginetans took over the transportation of Laconian ware from Samos after 550 BC. B. Kreuzer, *Klio* 76, 1994, 113ff., lists arguments against the assumption that Aeginetans were involved in trade before 535 BC.

²⁹⁵ For coins cf. C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (1976), 4, 41–9, 313. Paus. 7. 4. 4 for the bronze sculptor Smilis, who, according to Paus., made the cult statue for the temple of Rhoikos at Samos. E. Walter-Karydi, *Die äginetische Bildhauerschule, Alt-Ägina ii 2* (1987), 12f. Figueira, 289 n. 13, puts him into the late 7th c., which seems too early.

²⁹⁶ S. Morris, *The Black and White Style* (1984), thinks that much Middle Protoattic was in fact Aeginetan. See also the group identified by C. Dehl-von Kaenel, *CVA* (Berlin 6), 88 pls. 39–45.

²⁹⁷ Demosth. 23. 211 mentioned polis and *empōrion*. Cf. Winterscheidt, op.cit., 12ff., for the harbour setting.

The Aeginetans did not use the founding of colonies as a means of overcoming their scarcity of food and natural resources. We know of only two Aeginetan colonies, both founded extremely late. Around 519 BC, they took over the Samian colony of Kydonia on Crete,²⁹⁸ not so much with the intention of reducing overpopulation as for political reasons and in order that they might possess a base on the route to northern Africa and Egypt. Still later (c. 480 BC) they founded the colony in Umbria mentioned by Strabo.²⁹⁹ The Aeginetans established themselves as middlemen both between Greeks and with the Near East and the West; in so doing, they secured their means of livelihood.

PHOCAEA

Phocaea's position, on a peninsular-like group of hills of tufa, eruptive rock and conglomerates, hardly suggests fertile agricultural conditions. It is unclear to what extent the polis had a share in the fertile hinterland of the Hermos valley.³⁰⁰ Its inclination towards seafaring was furthered by its favourable location in a double bay at the outer end of the Gulf of Smyrna, especially since there was no need to spend valuable time sailing into or out of the Gulf.³⁰¹

The first time that we hear mention of the Phocaeans' bold seafaring is in connection with Tartessos, where they sought to obtain silver, tin, and bronze.³⁰² A clear orientation towards the western Mediterranean may be seen in Herodotus' remark³⁰³ to the effect that they had discovered the Adriatic, Etruria, and Iberia with their penteconters. They founded Massalia,³⁰⁴ presumably more for its harbour and its connections with the hinterland than as a result of any considerations regarding the fertility of the surrounding countryside.

An impressive demonstration of the Phocaeans' mobility is provided by the account³⁰⁵ of how they left the polis on their penteconters in 546 BC, together with their women, children, and moveable property, including the statues and other votive offerings from their temples, so as not to fall under Persian rule. At first they intended to settle on the Oinoussai islands, which they wanted to buy from the Chians; however, the latter feared that they would thereby be cut off from the important sea-route.³⁰⁶ Half of the population is said to have returned home later to Phocaea, whereas the other half sailed to their Corsican colony, Alalia. There they carried out piracy until the Etruscans and Carthaginians, forced to defend

²⁹⁸ Hdt. 3. 59.

²⁹⁹ Strab. 8. 6. 16 (c376).

³⁰⁰ Cf. Blumenthal, 95.

³⁰¹ Cf. A. Philippson, *BJ* 123, 1916, 121 with map 3.

³⁰² Hdt. 1. 163. Cf. J.-P. Morel, *BCH* 99, 1975, 853-96, for the Phocaeen expansion to the west, esp. 889 ff. for Tartessos; Roebuck, *Trade*, 94-101.

³⁰³ Hdt. 1. 163.

³⁰⁴ Timaios *FGH* 566 F71 *apud* Ps.-Skyrmos 209 f. (Müller, *GGM* i, 204); Aristot. *Massal. pol.* fr. 549 R. *apud* Athen. 14. 576a; Thuk. 1. 13; Strab. 3. 2. 9 (c147) for tin from the British Isles.

³⁰⁵ Hdt. 1. 164.

³⁰⁶ Hdt. 1. 165. The sea route ran between Chios and the Asia Minor coastline.

themselves, drove the Phocaeans out of Corsica following a naval engagement.³⁰⁷ Thereafter they founded the colony of Elea in southern Italy, shortly after 540 BC, although the best land for a settlement in the vicinity had already been taken.³⁰⁸

Phocaea itself remained an insignificant place, providing a mere three ships in the naval battle off Lade—if also the supreme commander of the entire fleet,³⁰⁹ reflecting the esteem in which the Phocaeans were held with regard to nautical matters. After the destruction of the Greek fleet, he occupied himself with piracy in Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Etruscan waters.

It is likely that the Phocaeans were middlemen in the metal trade, if we consider their penchant for the western Mediterranean, the location of known metal deposits as well as the destination of deliveries of metals even from the north. However, they also obtained from the Lydian hinterland not only metals but also—in all probability—the idea of stamping them to make coins. Their electrum coins are probably among the oldest Greek coins, dating back into the seventh century BC.³¹⁰ We can be sure that they also transported other goods on their ships in addition to metals, mixed cargoes being the norm. It is precisely this concentration by the Phocaeans upon the acquisition and transportation of metals,³¹¹ coupled with their notoriety as pirates, that indicates a possible greater commitment to the traditions of reciprocity than was the case with the Aeginetan *dēmos*, known for its trade in *athurmata*. As soon as they used the metals not for their own purposes alone but as a means of exchange, they abandoned the rules of reciprocity and may thereafter be described as a ‘trading people’.³¹² Like the Phoenicians, they were dependent upon the import of grain and other foodstuffs, and it is in this connection that their participation in Naukratis should be seen.

³⁰⁷ Hdt. 1. 166 f.

³⁰⁸ Strab. 6. 1. 1 (c252).

³⁰⁹ Hdt. 6. 8, 11 f., 17.

³¹⁰ Cf. F. Bodenstein, *Phokäisches Elektron-Geld von 600–326 v. Chr.* (1976), 17; id., *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene* (1981); M. J. Price, in *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to P. Grierson*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke *et al.* (1983), 1–10, on problems of early Greek coinage. However, the dating of the first electrum coins depends on the dating of the deposit in the Ephesian Artemision, where the oldest electrum coins have been found. E. S. G. Robinson, *JHS* 71, 1951, 156–67, has established a date for the closing of this deposit not earlier than the first decade of the 6th c. BC. H. A. Cahn, *SNR* 56, 1977, 279–87, in a critique of the publication of the Asyut hoard by N. Waggoner and M. J. Price, has reasserted a high chronology for archaic coinage. However, M. Oeconomides and O. Picard, in *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1985–1990*, ed. T. Hackens *et al.* (1991), 58, summarize the latest discussions in stating that the *sagesse* may be found in Robinson’s chronology for the electrum coins and in Kraay’s for the first coins in Greece. See also D. Williams, *BICS* 38, 1991–93, 98–102, who dates the burial of the pot containing the 17 electrum coins from the Ephesian Artemision into the third quarter of the 7th c. BC.

³¹¹ Mele, 58–78, connects the acquisition of metals with his Homeric *commercio prexis*. The search for metals had constituted a reason for travelling abroad ever since Homeric times.

³¹² B. Shefton, in *Phönizler*, 350, uses the modernizing term ‘entrepreneurs’ to describe them.

PHASELIS

Phaselis was founded in the seventh century by Greeks from the Rhodian city of Lindos on the western side of the Gulf of Antalya.³¹³ It lay on a promontory thrusting far out into the sea, cut off from the hinterland by the high foothills of the Taurus Mountains. The acropolis rose steeply from the sea to a height of 36 m. above it. It was separated from the higher-lying part of the coast by a small alluvial plain. This was formed by a stream along which too little water flowed to enable it to make headway against the force of the waves, resulting in a marshy area described by Strabo as a lake.³¹⁴ The polis possessed no chora, and thus had no cultivable land to speak of. On the other hand, there were excellent natural harbours with flat banks; furthermore, sufficient wood for construction purposes will presumably have been available on the slopes of the mountain range.

Thus, Phaselis can only have served as a base for trading purposes, founded in a strategically favourable location on the sea route to the Levant.³¹⁵ In all probability, its occupants had no choice but to take an active part in trading themselves, unless they wanted to starve.

These three poleis can best be described as special cases; the other poleis represented in Naukratis may be categorized as middle-sized agrarian states with significant maritime interests.³¹⁶

CHIOS

The information available concerning Chios, considered by Thucydides³¹⁷ as among the wealthiest poleis in Greece, is unusually comprehensive.³¹⁸ Its topography³¹⁹ is characterized by steep limestone mountains,³²⁰ hardly suitable for cultivation. There are very good harbours³²¹ round the entire island, enabling one to reach remote parts by ship. This, and the abundance of forests,³²² represent favourable prerequisites for a Chian interest in seafaring.

³¹³ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Γέλα*; cf. E. Kalinka, *TAM* ii 3, 413–16; Blumenthal, 129. A preliminary excavation report was given by H. Schläger and J. Schäfer, *AA* 86, 1971, 542–61. F. Prinz, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie* (1979), 28–31, 33, comments on the two *küses* which have come down to us.

³¹⁴ Strab. 14. 3. 9 (c666); J. Schäfer in *Phaselis*, *AM Beih.* 24 (1981), 19ff.; Blumenthal, 129ff. with figs. 42f.

³¹⁵ Skylax 100 (Müller, *GGM* i, 74); Prisc. *Perieg.* 805 (Müller, *GGM* ii, 197); Eustath. *Paraphr. Prisc.* 854–60 (Müller, *GGM* ii, 420); Liv. 37. 23; cf. J. M. Cook in *CAH*² iii 3 (1982), 212.

³¹⁶ Cf. Gehrke, 116ff.

³¹⁷ Thuk. 8. 45. 4; cf. 8. 24. 4.

³¹⁸ Unfortunately, but as usual, there is less information on the Archaic period than for times later. This imbalance is particularly to be seen in T. C. Sarikakis in *Chios*, 1986, 121–31.

³¹⁹ Cf. E. Yalouris, *The Archaeology and Early History of Chios* (1976), 2ff.; id. in *Chios*, 1986, 141–68.

³²⁰ In Hom. *Od.* 3. 170 Chios is called *παιπαλόεις*.

³²¹ Cf. Strab. 14. 1. 35 (c645).

³²² Athen. 6. 265d; Strab. 13. 1. 18 (c589); Plin. *nat.* 5. 136.

The most important area of cultivable land is the eastern plain, still the location today of densest population. It is bordered to the south by the Mastichochora, named after the mastic tree, the oil from which was known in antiquity as a product of Chios.³²³ That this oil was exported is demonstrated by the find made by Petrie, who tells of having discovered remnants of mastic in a red-glazed vessel from Tell Defenneh.³²⁴ This is presumably the same vessel which R. M. Cook describes as a lopsided two-handled pot of red ware, with an originally shiny surface. A further plateau may be found in the north of the island, in the vicinity of marble quarries; although these were not exploited to any notable extent until Roman times.³²⁵ In addition to the mastix oil, Chios' fame will doubtless have rested upon its wine.³²⁶ We know that this was transported in amphorae to Egypt too, fragments of Chian amphorae from the late seventh century on having been found there.³²⁷

All indications point to agricultural specialization from the late seventh century on,³²⁸ especially in wine and mastix. This is only possible if one assumes the importation of grain.³²⁹ Chios pursued no active colonization—if one ignores the doubtful case of Maroneia³³⁰—something which would provide a significant hint to the importance of trade for the polis.³³¹ Chian pottery has been found in large quantities, not only in Naukratis but also in Histria and along the Thracian coast.³³² The finds in Thrace would appear to confirm the theory that the Chians were interested in the silver deposits there. At any rate, it is remarkable that they were minting their coins in the sixth century to their own standard, although they had no silver deposits of their own and other poleis were still using electrum.³³³ It is thus quite possible that the Chians transported not only wine but silver to Egypt, whether bearing their own stamp or one originating in Thrace or Macedonia.³³⁴

Craftsmanship of a high standard existed alongside agricultural specialization,

³²³ Plin. *nat.* 12. 72; Dioskur. 1. 70. 3.

³²⁴ London BM 1888.2-8.140, also registered as 1977.10-11.2. (R. M. Cook, *CVA* (8) 59 xi. 4); cf. presumably *Tanis* II, 65 pl. 35. 55. However, there is another piece with the older inv.-no. It was not possible for me to inspect this piece.

³²⁵ Theophrastus 1. 6; Plin. *nat.* 5. 136; cf. 'Emporio', 86f.

³²⁶ Theopomp. *FGH* 115 F 276 *apud* Athen. 1. 26b-c held them to be the first to learn how to plant and tend vines. Cf. Athen. 1. 3f.; 1. 29e; 1. 32f; Strab. 14. 1. 15 (c637); 14. 1. 35 (c645); 14. 2. 19 (c657); Plin. *nat.* 14. 73; Plut. *mor.* 470 F; for olive trees Aristot. *pol.* 1. 1259^a-19.

³²⁷ Cf. e.g. *Naukratis* I, 21, 23 pls. 16. 4, 7; 17. 23; *Tanis* ii, 64 pl. 36. 5; cf. generally J. K. Anderson, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 168-70.

³²⁸ Cf. Gehrke, 121; Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 239f.

³²⁹ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 48, 1953, 12 with n. 36, for a calculation of the amount of grain needed to feed the population.

³³⁰ The only source which declares Maroneia as a foundation of Chios is Ps.-Skymn. 676ff. (Müller, *GGM* i, 222). On the problems of substantiating this evidence see A. Möller, *Klio* 78, 1996, 311-24. For older literature see Roebuck, *Trade*, 106; id., in *Chios*, 1986, 82; Lemos, 221.

³³¹ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 240.

³³² Cf. Lemos, 191-208, for distribution of Chian pottery around the Mediterranean and Black Sea.

³³³ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 240, 245 n. 39.

³³⁴ However, cf. Finley, in *Trade and Politics* 18-25, for criticism of Milne's corn-and-coin theory, the triangle trade between Ionia, Aegina, Thrace, and Egypt.

finding its expression particularly in the production of especially high-quality pottery. This, together with the notice that Chios had the first chattel slaves,³³⁵ gives the impression of a differentiated society on Chios. As with Aegina in the fourth century, so Aristotle³³⁶ sees in the merchants of Chios the determining element of the *dēmos*. We can assume the presence even at an early stage of market elements, developing out of the division of labour and the necessity of importation caused by specialization in particular products.

TEOS

Teos³³⁷ lay on the southern part of a hilly peninsula joined to the mainland to the east by a wide, flat isthmus. The town's harbour lay in a semicircular bay which was open to the south.³³⁸ Seafaring clearly played an important role for the Teians: they provided 17 ships for the naval battle off Lade,³³⁹ while their presence in Naukratis is evidenced by inscriptions. When the Persian pressure finally became unbearable, many inhabitants emigrated, refounding Abdera in Thrace.³⁴⁰ We also know of a second colony, Phanagoria on the Black Sea, later founded anew by Miletus.³⁴¹ However, there is nothing to indicate that the Teians had any problems providing themselves with sufficient food before the fifth century. They obviously worked the arable land that today belongs to the modern town of Seferihissar, an alluvial plateau famous for an abundance of grain.³⁴² Teian wine is also known.³⁴³ It is not until the fifth century that we have epigraphical evidence for the imposition of severe punishments on those impeding the import of grain or re-exporting it.³⁴⁴

³³⁵ Thuk. 8. 40. 2; Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115F122 *apud* Athen. 6. 265b-c; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Xíos*; Poseid. *FGrHist* 87F38 *apud* Athen. 6. 266e-f.

³³⁶ Aristot. *pol.* 4. 1291^b24.

³³⁷ Hekataios *FGrHist* 1F231f.; Strab. 14. 1. 30 (c644).

³³⁸ Lehmann-Hartleben, 283f. mentions the second harbour lying to the north; cf. Strab. 14. 1. 30 (c644); Liv. 37. 27-9.

³³⁹ Hdt. 6. 8.

³⁴⁰ Hdt. 1. 168 held that the entire citizenship left for Abdera, but then we have to explain why the polis of Teos took part in the battle off Lade around 50 years later. Strab. 14. 1. 30 (c644) tells us that part of the population later returned. An inscription from Teos (P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 11, 1981, 1-30) makes the refounding of Teos by Abderans likely, cf. A. J. Graham, *JHS* 111, 1991, 176-8 for older bibliography, but differently G. B. D'Alessio, *ZPE* 92, 1992, 73-80.

³⁴¹ Cf. Ehrhardt, 83 with n. 673; Danoff, *RE* suppl. 9 (1962), cols. 1133-5 s.v. 'Pontos Euxeinós'.

³⁴² Cf. Blumenthal, 96.

³⁴³ Paus. 7. 5. 11; Athen. 4. 160a.

³⁴⁴ ML, 30.

CLAZOMENAE

It was long unclear where the location of the earliest settlement was to be found. According to Pausanias,³⁴⁵ it did not lie on the island immediately offshore of the mainland, the inhabitants having fled there following the Persian conquest.³⁴⁶ J. M. Cook³⁴⁷ supposed Archaic Clazomenae to be near the harbour of Urla, on the western edge of the plain lying to the south of the island, pottery from the Archaic period being found here. In Thucydides' day, however, the main settlement was on the island,³⁴⁸ which was not joined to the mainland until the Hellenistic period.³⁴⁹ It is claimed that the island was already inhabited by around 600 BC,³⁵⁰ although no evidence has been found as yet for a settlement prior to the fifth century.³⁵¹ Clazomenae had no natural harbour; the one described later³⁵² probably dates only back to the Hellenistic period and was constructed together with the causeway and a town wall.³⁵³ Small islands apparently also belonged to Clazomenae at the end of the fifth century, namely Marathussa, Pele, and Drymussa,³⁵⁴ Strabo³⁵⁵ even talks of eight islands under cultivation.

J. M. Cook³⁵⁶ describes the fertile plain of Clazomenae, an inland plain to the south-west of the modern town of Urla, as being about 7 km. long and 3 km. wide on average, yielding a total of some 2,100 ha. of land. It is of course unclear how much of this land could be and actually was worked; assuming a landholding to have had an average size of 3–4 ha., however, it could easily have fed about 500 citizens and their families. Around 656 BC, the Clazomenians attempted to found the colony of Abdera in Thrace, but it was soon destroyed by Thracian tribes, not being founded anew—by Teos—until the middle of the sixth century.³⁵⁷

Unfortunately, the information available is insufficient to enable us to ascertain whether the Clazomenians had a chronic need of foodstuffs. We can at least deduce from the production of high-quality pottery and the famous sarcophagi that their society must have been decidedly differentiated. There was perhaps a

³⁴⁵ Paus. 7. 3. 8f.; cf. Strab. 14. 1. 31 (c644).

³⁴⁶ Cf. Hdt. 1. 16; 5. 123; it is uncertain whether this happened during the threat from the Lydians or the Persians. Traces of settlement at the Archaic site vanish around 500 BC.

³⁴⁷ J. M. Cook, *AEph* 1953/4, 152ff., fig. 2 for a sketch-map.

³⁴⁸ Thuk. 8. 14. 3, 23. 6, 31. 2–3; cf. *PAAH* 1921, 64, for a map of the coastline with the island.

³⁴⁹ Xen. *hell.* 5. 1. 31 still mentioned the island. Paus. 7. 3. 8f.; Strab. 1. 3. 17 (c58); 14. 1. 36 (c645); Plin. *nat.* 5. 117.

³⁵⁰ Cf. J. M. Cook, *AEph* 1953/4, 154 n. 3.

³⁵¹ R. van Beek and J. Beelen, *BABesch* 63, 1988, 138f. Ç. Anlağan, *CRAI* 1980, 345–9 reports finds—Mycenaean to end of 6th c.—more towards the island. P. Dupont, *Dacia* 27, 1983, 25, saw potters' kilns on the island which he dated into the 6th c. BC.

³⁵² Skylax 98 (Müller, *GGM* i, 71).

³⁵³ Cf. Lehmann-Hartleben, 66, 70, 132 n. 4, 260.

³⁵⁴ Thuk. 8. 31.

³⁵⁵ Strab. 14. 1. 36 (c645).

³⁵⁶ J. M. Cook, *AEph* 1953/4, 156; cf. Blumenthal, 96 with map fig. 30.

³⁵⁷ Hdt. 1. 168.

specialization within agriculture in specific products,³⁵⁸ at any rate, Clazomenae was later famed for its wine³⁵⁹ and oil,³⁶⁰ which can also be proved by their production of amphorae,³⁶¹ and its fish.³⁶²

RHODES

Until the synoikismos of 408/7 BC,³⁶³ the island of Rhodes was divided up among three poleis, namely Lindos, Ialysos, and Kamiros. Talking in the context of Naukratis, however, Herodotus³⁶⁴ already refers to Rhodes, and so the three poleis will be treated together here owing to their cultural connections.³⁶⁵ Archaic Rhodes fits well into the group of middle-sized agrarian states with maritime interests;³⁶⁶ from the fourth century on, it grew to become the most important trading centre in the Aegean, the Rhodians concentrating increasingly upon trade.

Rhodes is a fertile island, already regarded in Archaic times as prosperous.³⁶⁷ While there are few areas suitable for the growing of cereal crops, the soil is very fertile and there is normally plentiful rainfall. The mountains are abundantly wooded, the vegetation luxuriant. Rhodian wine³⁶⁸ and figs³⁶⁹ were well known, although its oil was allegedly not as good as that from Samos or Attica. The identification of Rhodian amphorae from the Archaic period is problematic, chemical identification in particular remaining unsuccessful.³⁷⁰ Fishing also added to the diet of the Rhodians.³⁷¹

Early Rhodian contacts with the Near East may be deduced not only from the foundation of Phaselis on the route to the Levant.³⁷² In addition, there was also a faience workshop in the seventh century BC, perhaps starting already in the eighth century, making Graeco-Egyptian scarabs and Graeco(-?Phoenician) oil flasks,³⁷³ demonstrating strong contacts with the Near East. Objects from the Near East³⁷⁴

³⁵⁸ Cf. E. Doğer, 'Les produits agricoles aux environs de Clazomènes dans les sources antiques', in *Erol Atalay Memorial*, ed. H. Malay (1991), 47–50.

³⁵⁹ Plin. *nat.* 14. 73f.; Dioskurides, *de materia medica* 5. 6. 9.

³⁶⁰ Ps.-Aristot. *oik.* 2. 2. 1348^b16a.

³⁶¹ Cf. E. Doğer, 'Premières remarques sur les amphores de Clazomènes', in *BCH* suppl. 13 (1986) 461–71.

³⁶² Plin. *nat.* 32. 18.

³⁶³ Thuk. 8. 44. 1ff.; Diod. 13. 38. 5, 75. 1; 19. 45. 1; Strab. 14. 2. 9 (C654).

³⁶⁴ Hdt. 2. 178.

³⁶⁵ Cf. A. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 307f.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Gehrke, 125–8.

³⁶⁷ Hom. *Il.* 2. 670; Pol. 5. 90. 3f.; Strab. 14. 2. 10 (c655). cf. Blumenthal, 39.

³⁶⁸ Ps.-Aischin. *epist.* 5. 2; Athen. 1. 31e; Gell. 13. 5. 5; Ail. *var.* 12. 31.

³⁶⁹ Athen. 1. 27f.; 3. 75e; Plin. *nat.* 15. 70.

³⁷⁰ Cf. P. Dupont, *PP* 37, 1982, 208; id., *Dacia* 27, 1983, 42.

³⁷¹ Ail. *var.* 1. 28; Athen. 8. 360d–e.

³⁷² Ezekiel 27. 15 mentioned Rhodian traders in Tyre in the 6th c. BC.

³⁷³ Cf. V.4.c. and d, below.

³⁷⁴ Cf. *Lindos* i, pls. 53–9 for Egyptian faience figures; pls. 19–21 for Tridacna shells; on Ialysos cf. M. Martelli, in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, ed. S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (1988), 109ff.

have also been found on Rhodes, although these need not necessarily have arrived here as a result of active trading ventures by the Rhodians, especially since they were mainly discovered in the sanctuaries of Athena in Lindos and Ialysos, which are not only of regional significance, and Rhodes is well situated on the sea route to the Levant.

CNIDUS

Cnidus lies on a long peninsula of such a nature that Herodotus could describe it as surrounded by the sea except for a narrow neck.³⁷⁵ When Harpagos subjugated the Greeks of Asia Minor, the Cnidians sought to cut off their peninsula by means of a canal, but without success. The peninsula is 63 km. long and comprises two massifs joined by an isthmus. Bean and Cook³⁷⁶ describe the eastern massif as rocky and uninhabited, while the southern part of the western massif contains narrow coastal plains and a cultivable valley in the hinterland. The question of where the Archaic and Classical polis has lain seems to have been convincingly settled by Dietrich Berges.³⁷⁷ The vicinity of the isthmus, where a fertile plain lies, offers the right conditions sought after in Archaic times. The harbours of the Archaic polis were located by Berges as having lain on both sides of the Akropolis hill at Datça.³⁷⁸ It emerges from Thucydides' description³⁷⁹ that the old town cannot have lain at the tip of the peninsula, since the Athenians, sailing from Samos, first defeated enemy ships off Triopion, a promontory of Cnidus (presumably the western massif), before going on to Cnidus itself.³⁸⁰ By the end of the fifth century the conditions had changed and it now seemed more favourable to be located at the tip of the peninsula to participate in trade routes supported by two good harbours.³⁸¹ A consideration of the marble Treasury in Delphi leads to the conclusion that sixth-century Cnidus must have been wealthy. Two colonizing expeditions were undertaken, one ending up in the Lipari Islands, the other to the Ionian Sea.³⁸² Cnidus was minting coins from some time after 530 BC, following initially the Milesian but later the Aeginetan standard.³⁸³ Wine, vinegar, cabbage, and

³⁷⁵ Hdt. 1. 174.

³⁷⁶ G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 171ff., pl. 37 for a map.

³⁷⁷ D. Berges, *MDAI(I)* 44, 1994, 5–16.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 10 pls. 1–3.

³⁷⁹ Thuk. 8. 35.

³⁸⁰ Bean and Cook, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 202ff., argue for this interpretation; cf. *id.*, *ABSA* 52, 1957, 85ff. The contrary view is taken by Lehmann-Hartleben, 60f.; H. Cahn, *Knidos* (1970), 10ff.; N. Demand, *CiAnt* 8, 1989, 224–37; and W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos I* (1992), 1f.; all assuming that Archaic Cnidus lay at the same site as the Hellenistic one and that the town did not move. The evidence for earlier settlement at the Hellenistic site, such as the still unpublished Mycenaean and Archaic East Greek sherds (cf. H. J. Mellink, *AJA* 73, 1969, 219; Berges, *MDAI(I)* 44, 1994, 8), architectural fragments, and inscriptions, was all proved by Berges to be at least unconvincing.

³⁸¹ Cf. Berges, *MDAI(I)* 44, 1994, 15. For the harbours cf. Strab. 14. 2. 15 (c656); Lehmann-Hartleben, 126f.

³⁸² Lipari islands: Strab. 6. 6. 10 (c275); Diod. 5. 9. 1; Korkyra Melaina: Strab. 7. 5. 5 (c315).

³⁸³ Cf. Cahn, *op.cit.*, 15f.

pottery³⁸⁴ are known to have been products exported in later times, for which amphora stamps contribute valuable evidence.

HALICARNASSUS

Halicarnassus, while subsumed by Herodotus under the Dorian poleis, nonetheless demonstrates a decidedly Carian influence, seen for example in Carian patronyms and names.³⁸⁵ The polis lay in a semicircle around a well-situated harbour, rising up terrace-like over it, similar to the cavea of a theatre.³⁸⁶ The location surely indicates the maintenance of ships³⁸⁷ for seafaring and fishing. However, it is possible that the Halicarnassians were not necessarily dependent upon the acquisition of food from overseas, for Bean and Cook,³⁸⁸ while conducting their survey of the southern side of the Halicarnassian peninsula, observed pockets of fertile land and a number of distinct little coastal plains, while Blumenthal³⁸⁹ speaks of a '*naturnäherlich klar umrahmten Kornland*'. The precise extent to which the chora stretched is unknown. Evidence has also been found on the peninsula of several non-Greek settlements; it was presumably only after the synoikismos of Mausollos that these came into the possession of the Halicarnassian polis.³⁹⁰

Our knowledge is inadequate to allow speculation as to whether the Halicarnassians' own food supply in Archaic times was sufficient. They founded no colonies, but we do know of one Halicarnassian entering service with Amasis as a mercenary.³⁹¹ Their cultural proximity to the Carians, who are known to have gone to Egypt as mercenaries and had a great reputation as sailors, probably could at least have prompted some Halicarnassians to consider the idea of sailing to Egypt themselves.

³⁸⁴ Wine: Athen. 1. 32e; Strab. 7. 5. 5 (c315); vinegar: Athen. 2. 67c; cabbage: Athen. 9. 369e-f.; pottery: Eubulus fr. 132 (Hunter) *apud* Athen. 1. 28c. R. L. Hunter in the commentary to fr. 132 (p. 227) remarks that in this passage 'Cnidian' does not mean provenance but the measuring unit of the amphorae. We know of a local variation of the Archaic Ionian cup; however, they were not distributed widely, but to Naukratis, cf. Appendix 1.k.

³⁸⁵ e.g. the personal names of Herodotus' father Lyxes and his relative Panyassis suggest Carian origin. They are mentioned in an inscription from Halicarnassus (*SGDI* 5727) which lists most of the indigenous names from Caria, cf. W. Blümel, *Kadmos* 32, 1993, 1-18 for new reading.

³⁸⁶ Cf. Lehmann-Harteben, 86f. pl. 9 for an outline of the harbour.

³⁸⁷ Cf. Hdt. 7. 99 for the provision of ships for Xerxes.

³⁸⁸ G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 50, 1955, 85f., fig. 1 for map; id., *ABSA* 52, 1957, 87ff.

³⁸⁹ Blumenthal, 98.

³⁹⁰ Kallisthenes *FGrHist* 124F25. W. Radt, *MDAI(I)* Beih.3 (1970) scrutinizes the Lelegian settlements. Cf. J. M. Cook, *CAH*² iii 1 (1982), 748, 751f.

³⁹¹ Hdt. 3. 4, 7.

MYTILENE

It is probable that at least half of the island of Lesbos belonged to the Mytilenians,³⁹² who also possessed territory on the mainland.³⁹³ The island itself is described as possessing abundant water and fertile soil. Cereal crops are known to have grown on half of the cultivable land, while large areas were reserved for livestock; vines and olive trees also made no mean contribution to the overall yield.³⁹⁴ Hans-Joachim Gehrke³⁹⁵ assumes the existence of a well-off aristocracy and a strong peasant community. It would appear, therefore, that the polis' participation in Naukratis was not prompted by a chronic need of food. Charaxos,³⁹⁶ known to us from his love affair with a *hetaira* from Naukratis, was no trader but an example of the aristocratic adventurer. The maritime orientation of the upper class is generally expressed within the old aristocratic ideals, as illustrated by the practice of piracy in the Propontis in support of Histiaios, former tyrant of Miletus.³⁹⁷

SAMOS

The farming opportunities offered by the island of Samos are few; nevertheless, it was possible to cultivate wine and olive trees by terracing the mountain slopes.³⁹⁸ The island was abundantly wooded,³⁹⁹ an important prerequisite for the construction of ships. Samos controlled stretches of mainland from early on in the area of Mt. Mycale and the plain to the north,⁴⁰⁰ providing further possibilities for cultivation. Yet grain must have been in short supply. Cattle raising and tunny fishing will also have helped to provide food.⁴⁰¹

A disposition towards seafaring may be detected from early times on: a Corinthian is said to have built the first triremes for Samos around 700 BC.⁴⁰² The Samians developed their own cargo ship, the *samaina*,⁴⁰³ in the sixth century. The

³⁹² Cf. Gehrke, 122ff.; A. Philippson, 'Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien', i (1910), for a geological map; Blumenthal, 95. N. Spencer, *ABSA* 90, 1995, 269–306, gives a recent account of the archaeology of Lesbos; cf. id., *A Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites in Lesbos*, BAR Intern. Series 623 (1995).

³⁹³ Thuk. 3. 50. 3; 4. 52. 2–3 (called Aktaian cities); cf. *ATL* i, 198, 467; *ML*, 194.

³⁹⁴ Strab. 14. 2. 19 (c657); 14. 1. 15 (c637); Diod. 17. 29. 2; Plin. *nat.* 14. 73; Athen. 1. 28eff., 32f.; 13. 598c *et passim*.
³⁹⁵ Gehrke, 123.

³⁹⁶ Hdt. 2. 135.

³⁹⁷ Hdt. 6. 5.

³⁹⁸ Wine: Hesych. s.v. *Σαμία* (Latte); olive trees: Anacr. fr. 98 P; Aischyl. *Pers.* 883f.; Athen. 2. 66f. quoted Antiphanes. However, the terracing cannot be confirmed for the 6th c. BC.

³⁹⁹ Cf. Shipley, 8; Gehrke, 118.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. Shipley, 10; Gehrke, 118.

⁴⁰¹ Athen. 7. 301f.

⁴⁰² Thuk. 1. 13. 3; *pace* F. Meijer, *Historia* 37, 1988, 461–3.

⁴⁰³ Plut. *Per.* 26; Lysimachos *FGrHist* 382F7; Athen. 12. 540e–f; Hesych. s.v. *Σαμιακὸς τρόπος* (Latte); cf. G. Dunst, *AM* 87, 1972, 159–61.

oldest Samian colonies of which we know, those in Cilicia, allow only limited farming, and could have functioned rather as hideouts for piracy or trading bases on the way to the Levant.⁴⁰⁴ The Samian settlement of Amorgos, lying on a route to Crete and Cyrene, should perhaps also be seen more from a strategic viewpoint, even if arable land was available there.⁴⁰⁵ It is possible that the Samian colonies on the Propontis served similar purposes.⁴⁰⁶

Despite an orientation towards maritime interests, the aristocracy remained a class of landowners, the *geomoroi*.⁴⁰⁷ They presumably conducted their business as pirates, the Samians having been famous as such.⁴⁰⁸ Around 630 BC we hear of Kolaios the adventurer, who, in a mixture of exchange and piracy, committed to negative reciprocity, brings astounding riches back to Samos.⁴⁰⁹ Shortly after 600 BC, a revolt took place against the *geomoroi*, while it began among the fleet, we can assume that it will have served political and military aims. The ships' oarsmen were peasants with smaller pieces of land, to whom were added the craftsmen and traders. The importance of the fleet, and thus of seafaring, is reflected in the fact that the revolt was successful. Yet there is little indication of any predilection of the elite towards trading, as their activities will probably have been predominantly concerned with the realm of negative reciprocity.

While the Samians themselves undertook sea voyages and trading ventures, it should not be forgotten that Samos also had a particular natural attraction for other Greeks on account of its important Heraion and its situation at the end of the crossing over the Aegean;⁴¹⁰ thus, some of the desired goods may have been brought to Samos without the direct action of Samian pirates and traders.⁴¹¹

MILETUS

Miletus possessed next to no arable land in antiquity. It lay on a cape-like hill on the south coast of a gulf reaching far inland, and was surrounded by mountainous country in the hinterland.⁴¹² The entire peninsula of Miletus and Didyma is regarded as very infertile.⁴¹³ However, this disadvantage was compensated for by its

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Shipley, 41; Blumenthal, 121f. assumes agricultural colonies. Kelenderis: Strab. 14. 5. 3 (c670); Pomp. Mela 1. 13. 77; cf. Blumenthal, 109 fig. 36, 118f.; L. Zoroğlu, *Kelenderis*, i (1994) with English summary, 73–9. Nagidos: Strab. 14. 5. 3 (c670); Hekataios *FGH Hist* 1 F266; Skylax 102 (Müller, *GGM* i, 76); cf. Blumenthal, 109 fig. 35, 117f.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Shipley, 51.

⁴⁰⁶ Perinthus: Plut. *mor.* 303E; Plin. *nat.* 4. 47; Strab. 7. fr. 57; Diod. 16. 76. 4; Georgios Synkellos 453 (Dindorf, *CSHB*). Bisanthe: Hdt. 7. 137; Pomp. Mela 2. 2. 24; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Βισάνθη*.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Gehrke, 119.

⁴⁰⁸ Hdt. 3. 47.

⁴⁰⁹ Hdt. 4. 152. Roebuck, *Trade*, 98, considers the transportation of bronze rather than silver.

⁴¹⁰ Hdt. 3. 48; 6. 95; 8. 132; cf. Roebuck, *Trade*, 6f.

⁴¹¹ B. Kreuzer, *Klio* 76, 1994, 113–18, argues for a greater importance of the Samians themselves in transporting pottery to the island and into its Heraion. Since she arrives at this conclusion not so much by positive evidence as by eliminating other possible carriers, her argument remains to be substantiated.

⁴¹² Cf. Blumenthal, 34f. with figs. 9f.; *Milet* ii 4 (1968) for a topographical map of the town site; *Milet* i 1 (1906) for a map of the territory.

⁴¹³ Cf. A. Philippson, *BJ* 123, 1916, 126ff.; *AA* 1987, 104f. fig. 1 for map.

excellent location at the end of land routes into the Anatolian interior, together with its four harbours.⁴¹⁴ Today, Miletus is completely cut off from the sea, since the Maeander has silted up an enormous plain. Archaeological finds suggest that the Sacred Road, linking Miletus with Didyma, was not constructed until the sixth century.⁴¹⁵ This could indicate that Milesian influence upon Didyma also began only in the sixth century, and thus that the appropriation of the fertile plain of Teichiussa⁴¹⁶ probably did not take place until this time. This would limit the assumed resources of arable land still further.

The most famous Milesian product is wool, used to make textiles and also dyed with purple in Roman times.⁴¹⁷ We know additionally of pottery, olive oil, and furniture.⁴¹⁸ The fact that Miletus did not have an adequate supply of grain from its own territory at its disposal is seen in its colonizing activity,⁴¹⁹ on the one hand, oriented primarily to the founding of agricultural colonies. On the other hand, the population was able to survive during the war with the Lydians around 600 BC, despite the latter's destruction of the harvest year after year,⁴²⁰ indicating that Miletus shipped in supplies from outside and did not rely upon its own arable land.⁴²¹ For this reason, it might be possible that already the end of the seventh century saw it dependent upon grain from Naukratis.

Our knowledge is unfortunately still too limited to enable us to draw a conclusive picture; however, all the Archaic poleis of coastal Asia Minor discussed here reveal the characteristic of great mobility. A shortage of locally produced grain cannot be proved for all of them—indeed, would seem unlikely for Clazomenae, Teos, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Mytilene—but they all concentrated upon sea-faring in one way or another, thus enabling them to acquire necessary goods, some through piracy, others in accordance with guest-friendship. All, therefore, had an interest in trading for a variety of reasons, whether through a shortage of cultivable land (Aegina, Phocaea, and Phaselis) or as a result of agricultural specialization (Chios, Miletus, and Rhodes). The universal validity of the often-rehearsed theory that grain import had become necessary by the last quarter of the seventh century BC⁴²² can surely no longer unreservedly be maintained.

⁴¹⁴ Strab. 14. 1. 6 (c635); it remains uncertain whether it had four harbours in Archaic times.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. K. Tuchelt, *Antike Welt Sondernummer Branchidai—Didyma* (1991), 39.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 56, 1961, 90ff. for localization.

⁴¹⁷ Alexis *FGrHist* 539f2; Klytos *FGrHist* 490f2; Timaios *FGrHist* 566f50; cf. Roebuck, *Trade*, 19; P. Herrmann, *MDAI(I)* 25, 1975, 141–7.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. V.4.a. for MWG and Fikellura pottery. Olive oil: Aristot. *pol.* 1. 1959⁹⁵–19; Hdt. 1. 17 mentions δένδρεα, which only signifies fruit-bearing trees in general; cf. K. Krause, in *Milet* ii 2 (1929), 40; Gehrke, 135; W. R. Patron and J. L. Myres, *JHS* 18, 1898, 211–14; Bean and Cook, *ABSA* 52, 1957, 108, saw oil-presses in Milesian territory; for Milesian amphorae see P. Dupont, *PP* 37, 1982, 203–6; id., *Dacia* 27, 1983, 42. Furniture: Kritias B 35D–K *apud* Athen. 11. 486e.

⁴¹⁹ Ephor. *FGrHist* 70f183; Aristot. *fr.* 557r.; Ps.-Skymnos 734f. (Müller, *GGM* i, 225); Strab. 14. 1. 6 (c635); cf. F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation* (1920), 9–60; generally Ehrhardt.

⁴²⁰ Hdt. 1. 17–22.

⁴²¹ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 245 n. 36; Roebuck, *Trade*, 129.

⁴²² Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 48, 1953, 12f.

V

The Archaeological Material from Naukratis

The discovery of Naukratis by Sir William Flinders Petrie more than a hundred years ago resulted in a veritable flood of historical and archaeological research,¹ one which shows no signs of abating. The reason for so much attention lies not only in the discovery of countless² Archaic pottery fragments of previously unknown styles but also in the fact that many fragments bear inscriptions in Archaic alphabets. It is not surprising, therefore, that the continuing interest in Naukratis has come primarily from archaeologists, attempting, for example, to explain Egyptian influences upon Greek art by means of Greek contact with Egyptians in Naukratis. However, there have also been numerous attempts within the field of ancient history to evaluate the phenomenon of Naukratis.

While this chapter will be devoted to the archaeological material, taking stock of what has been found in the light of the results produced by recent research, the following chapter will present a historical interpretation of this material and the literary sources, based on Karl Polanyi's ideal-type 'port of trade' as discussed above.

Naukratis lies 83 km. south-east of Alexandria, in the western part of the Nile delta. There is no direct road between Naukratis and the Cairo–Alexandria motorway, rendering access to the ancient site exceedingly difficult; indeed, it becomes almost impossible in winter, when heavy downpours of rain turn the untarred roads into mud tracks. Nor does Naukratis nowadays offer any architectural attractions to the tourist; furthermore, the old area of excavation, covering about 950×580 m., is largely covered today by a lake.³ Finally, even the first excavations of

¹ P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History* (1892), and D. Mallet, *Les premiers établissements des Grecs en Égypte* (1893), gave the first evaluations of Petrie's and E. Gardner's excavation results. Cf. Bernard i 3, 575–86 for bibliography of older literature with short résumés.

² The exact number of sherds is unknown, but Mallet, *op.cit.*, 158, mentions that E. Gardner estimated the amount at 150,000 fragments. However, this can only apply to the first two campaigns and should be considered very approximate.

³ The later flooding of the excavation area was already foreseen by Petrie, *Naukratis* I, 10. For a description of the current state of the area cf. W. Coulson and A. Leonard, jr., *ARCE Newsletter* 103,

1884–1903 unearthed very little of the temples mentioned in Herodotus 2. 178.

I. PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

It was impossible for me to carry out an autopsy of all the discoveries and finds that have been made, and so I will refer to the available site reports and publications concerning the material from Naukratis. Unfortunately, the former are incomplete in the extreme: they appeared immediately after the campaigns, with no insistence upon comprehensiveness. Many finds were sorted out and destroyed at the excavation site itself; quite a few were distributed to museums, institutions, and private individuals all over the world—in part in return for subscriptions to the Egyptian Exploration Fund—before they could be published.⁴ Some of these finds have meanwhile been published in the catalogues of the various museums.

The old excavations were carried out using methods from the early days of archaeology.⁵ Petrie employed his Arab workers in a mixture of supervised excavation and piece-work. Objects found in those areas designated for piece-work had to be bought for a better price than that offered by the Arab dealers.⁶ This rendered the precise documentation of finds within their context quite impossible. In essence, holes were dug simply to recover the sanctuaries and their finds, while the domestic and business quarters⁷ received but little attention. It is of course important to take into consideration the difficulties involved in locating mud-brick walls in the Nile mud; one should hardly be surprised that it proved impossible to ascertain the exact position of the temples. Added to these difficulties was the destruction of the place through *sebakhin*, workers digging out the rotting remains of ancient sites for use as high-phosphate fertilizer: they had already demolished the Temenos of Hera in particular down to the ground beneath it. Last but not least, house construction from later settlements in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times had resulted in further destruction.

These conditions made it particularly difficult to establish a stratigraphy. The only published description of one was made by Petrie for the votive

1977/8, 13–15; aerial views can be found in *Naukratis* III, pls. 1–2, 4, and an exact account of how to get there in Coulson and Leonard, *JFA* 6, 1979, 153f.; cf. Bernard i 3, 618, too.

⁴ Cf. R. M. Cook, in *CVA* London BM (8) 60f. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (1932, Reprint N.Y. 1969), 59, remembered sending the best finds of metal tools to the BM in London and later being told: 'Mr. Newton said they were ugly things and he did not want them, so they were thrown away.'

⁵ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 118f. with nn. 33f.; Austin, 22, 59.

⁶ Cf. Gardner's report in *Naukratis* II, 17ff.; *ABSA* 5, 1898/99, 27; Petrie, *op.cit.*, 54f.

⁷ Cf. the complaints by W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, *op.cit.*, *JFA* 6, 1979, 153.

trench in the Temenos of Apollo.⁸ In using this, Gjerstad⁹ attempted to develop a valid stratigraphy, deriving his absolute dating from (i) *his* interpretation of the literary sources, (ii) *his* dating of the Cypriot sculptures, and (iii) the introduction of the letter *omega* into the Greek alphabet.¹⁰ It is now possible to prove him wrong in all three points, making his absolute date for the foundation of Naukratis far too late. The oldest Cypriot terracotta head cited by Gjerstad¹¹ may be compared with Proto-Cypriot examples from the Heraion on Samos,¹² enabling a dating, in accordance with Samian chronology,¹³ to the end of the seventh century BC. The head was found under the Polemarchos Vase¹⁴ (MWG II, Plate 1b) in the votive trench of the Temple of Apollo, confirming a pre-600 BC dating. Other identifiable pottery¹⁵ from this bottom layer can also be dated to before or around 600 BC. In the light of Schmidt's better-established chronology for Samos, Gjerstad's chronology of the Cypriot sculptures¹⁶ would appear to be set about 40 years too late. Downdating Gjerstad's stratigraphy by some 40–50 years would place the lowest layers of the votive trench in the Apollo temenos in the last quarter of the seventh century BC, matching the date emerging from the pottery found elsewhere at Naukratis as the earliest period of use for the *empóron*.

However, this does not give grounds for optimism in believing it possible to reconstruct an accurate stratigraphy: either the layers in the votive trench of Apollo must have been badly disturbed,¹⁷ or—the view I take—the gradual filling up of this votive trench precludes its use for stratigraphic purposes. The disturbance could have been caused by Arabs searching for *sebakh*; they may also have been responsible for clearing the entire second Temple of Apollo, together with the votive offerings belonging to it.

⁸ *Naukratis* I, pl. 44.

⁹ E. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 67–84; id., *AArch* 30, 1959, 147–65.

¹⁰ Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 82f.; id., *AArch* 30, 1959, 159ff. Since we have the earliest example of *omega* from Samos of about 650 BC (cf. *Samos* vii, 140 n.146), the introduction cannot be later than 600 BC, as Gjerstad thought; cf. *LSAG*, 37f., 428.

¹¹ *Naukratis* I, 14 pl. 2.5 (wrongly given as limestone); but not the head quoted in *Samos* vii, 140 n. 147, which is *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, pl. 12.290, belonging to the same type but found in the Hellenion or dug out by *sebakhin*.

¹² *Samos* vii, 9f. pls. 10–11, T 229, T 1802 and Berlin 497x were made in the same mould.

¹³ *Samos* vii, 93–8. W.-D. Niemeier (Heidelberg) was so kind as to tell me that Schmidt's Samian chronology was confirmed by a later, as yet unpublished excavation. Cf. V.4.e.

¹⁴ London BM 1886.4–1.830 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 4.3); cf. *Naukratis* I, 19, for Petrie's dating to before 600 BC.

¹⁵ Chian pottery (A.1, F.2), eye bowls (G.2), Ionian bowls (L.1, v.1), Wild Goat style (O.3, T), Near Eastern coarse ware (P), early olpe ('incised oinochoe').

¹⁶ *SCE* iv 2, 207–11.

¹⁷ Cf. R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 86 n. 2; von Bissing, 68f.

Quite apart from the problems tied up with a recognizable stratigraphy, an identification of Petrie's pottery typology is also fraught with difficulty, since his classification appears most unconventional by today's standards.¹⁸ Any identification of Petrie's types will be highly inadequate at best, as only a few of the examples which he gives have been illustrated, while those sherds which have been preserved cannot be tied to Petrie's classification, either in the form of labelling or through storage in appropriate boxes.

Any attempt to determine a stratigraphy for Naukratis is also doomed to failure, since such an evaluation requires that a meaningful sequence of layers be related to a structure suitable for absolute dating—yet it would appear that such a condition has never been fulfilled in Naukratis. Petrie himself describes¹⁹ how he arbitrarily established a measuring point 12.69 m. (500 inches) under a certain Roman brick platform in the eastern part of the town area. He himself adds the reservation that this point has no relevance for the Temple of Apollo, which was constructed from the start on a built-up hill.

2. A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE EXCAVATIONS

Prompted by the discovery of a Mixed Style statuette,²⁰ Petrie succeeded in 1884 in identifying ancient Naukratis near the Arab village of Kom Ge-*if* by means of an inscription.²¹ He led the first excavation campaign in 1884/5, in the course of which the temenos of Apollo, the 'Palaistra', the temenos of the Dioskouroi, the 'Scarab Factory', and the 'Great Temenos' were revealed. Unfortunately, *sebakhin*²² had already destroyed roughly a third²³ of the area covered by ancient Naukratis. Petrie's first report, from 11 May 1885,²⁴ vividly describes the situation, in particular the immediate destruction of pieces of architecture following their discovery and the sale of valuable relics to dealers from Cairo, incidents which Petrie was powerless to prevent. The site report was published in 1886, under the title 'Naukratis Part I, 1884-5'.

The second campaign, financed by the Worts Fund of the University of Cambridge, took place from December 1885 to March 1886, under the

¹⁸ Cf. Gjerstad's attempt in *AAL* 21, 1934, 80f.

¹⁹ *Naukratis* I, 87ff.; cf. *Naukratis* II, 33.

²⁰ London BM B447 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 1.2; M. Drower, *Flinders Petrie* (1985), pl. 14); cf. V.4.c.

²¹ *Naukratis* I, pl. 30.3; Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (1932, Reprint N.Y. 1969), pl. opposite p. 38; Bernard i 3, 751f. no. 15 pl. 35.4. C. Sevilla Cueva, in *Homenaje a José M^o Blázquez* (1993), 2, gives a short history of its localization and 8-11 a history of its excavation.

²² See *Naukratis* II, 16 for a description of their activities, which were considered of highest significance to archaeologists by Gardner.

²³ *Naukratis* I, 9.

²⁴ Petrie, *JHS* 6, 1885, 204ff.; cf. *Naukratis* I, 9, 13.

direction of Ernest A. Gardner, who was faced upon his arrival with the sight of still further destruction. He established that the 'Palaistra' was in fact the temenos of Hera, excavated further in the Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, and discovered the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. The publication of his report appeared in 1888 as 'Naukratis Part II', with an appendix by F. Ll. Griffith.

While on a visit to the site at the end of 1898, David G. Hogarth noticed progressive destruction through *sebakhin*, and also that water had already reached a high level. Upon receipt of the necessary funds from the Committee of the British School at Athens, supported by the Society of Dilettanti, he commenced the third excavation campaign, on 19 February 1899, in collaboration with C. C. Edgar and C. D. Edmonds. Areas to the north-east and south of the old excavation site were now investigated, work on the town centre being complete. It was already impossible for Hogarth to ascertain the exact position of the sanctuaries excavated by Petrie and Gardner.²⁵ He discovered the Hellenion in the north-east, and also investigated Petrie's Great Temenos, concentrating more on the former, and published his results in the same year.²⁶ Four years later, this time supported by the Craven Fund of the University of Oxford, Hogarth led a fourth campaign, continuing his excavation of the Hellenion and attempting to localize the north-west corner of the Great Temenos. He published the results of this, the last campaign for the time being, in 1905, together with H. L. Lorimer and C. C. Edgar.²⁷

In April 1921, E. Marion Smith visited the old excavation site, describing the place as 'barren of any beauty, a heap of rubbish mounds, . . . the site is damp and unhealthy'.²⁸ She also found a 'water reservoir', which had already flooded parts of the excavation site to the east.

From 15 December 1977 to 15 January 1978, William D. E. Coulson and Albert Leonard, jr. conducted an initial survey in the area of ancient Naukratis, with the aim of ascertaining the current state of the former *empóron* and other ancient sites in this region.²⁹ This preliminary survey marked the prelude to renewed exploration of Naukratis and its surroundings, especially with respect to its later history down to the seventh century AD.³⁰ A systematic collection of sherds along the bank of the lake yielded Hellenistic and Roman pottery, providing evidence of ancient

²⁵ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 28.

²⁶ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 26-97 with chapters by C. C. Edgar and C. Gutch.

²⁷ D. G. Hogarth, with contributions by H. L. Lorimer and C. C. Edgar, *JHS* 25, 1905, 103-36.

²⁸ E. M. Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 123.

²⁹ W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, jr., *ARCE Newsletter* 103, 1977/8, 13-26; id., *JFA* 6, 1979, 151-68.

³⁰ W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, jr., *JFA* 6, 1979, 157.

Naukratis' continued development.³¹ Doubt began to arise regarding Petrie's description of his Great Temenos.³²

The first excavation season was carried out in 1980.³³ An attempt was made in two sectors to draw up a stratigraphy. Sector I lay along the western border of the South Mound, possibly a part of Petrie's Great Temenos, Sector II along the south-western edge of what is today the lake. Sector II yielded a clay brazier, comparison with a similar item from Tell Defenneh suggesting a possible dating to the late sixth century BC.³⁴ Otherwise, the evidence found pointed merely to settlement in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Further surveys were carried out around the lake in 1980 and 1981, uncovering pottery from the late Classical period and after.³⁵ The main focus of these campaigns, however, was the South Mound.³⁶ Core drillings were conducted at various points in the 1982 season, with the aim of investigating the size of the Hellenion and the deeper layers of the South Mound.³⁷ The final campaign took place in 1983, again seeing excavation in the area of the South Mound, intended to shed light upon the individual phases of the north-east building, dated to the Ptolemaic period. Further evaluation of the core drillings was carried out, with the aim of clarifying the course of the Canobic branch of the Nile.³⁸ Advance notice of the concluding publications covering the excavations from 1980 to 1983 has been given and is due to appear.³⁹

3. THE TOPOGRAPHY

a. The Temenos of Apollo

The first temenos to be discovered in Naukratis was the Sanctuary of Apollo (Figures 1 and 2).⁴⁰ It lies in the northern part of the excavated area, and was identified by means of inscriptions on votive pottery.⁴¹ The

³¹ Coulson and Leonard, *ARCE Newsletter* 103, 1977/8, 18–25 fig. 3; id., *JFA* 6, 1979, 155–7.

³² Coulson and Leonard, *ARCE Newsletter* 103, 1977/8, 17; id., *JFA* 6, 1979, 154.

³³ *Naukratis* III, 18–44.

³⁴ *Naukratis* III, 20 fig. 13 B.1; cf. London Petrie Coll. 19256 (*Tanis* ii, 65, 67 no. 77 pl. 35).

³⁵ *Naukratis* III, 45–68; Coulson and Leonard, *JARCE* 19, 1982, 78; id., *AJA* 86, 1982, 371–5.

³⁶ Coulson and Leonard, *AJA* 86, 1982, 364–71; id., *Muse* 15, 1981, 39–45.

³⁷ Coulson and Leonard, *JARCE* 19, 1982, 79; id., *Muse* 16, 1982, 44–6.

³⁸ Coulson and Leonard, *Muse* 17, 1983, 64, 70.

³⁹ Further publications are A. A. Arndt and W. D. E. Coulson, 'Field Computer Use at Naukratis', *JARCE* 22, 1985, 105–15; W. D. E. Coulson, in *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta. Problems and Priorities. Proc. of the Seminar held in Cairo 19–22 October 1986*, ed. E. C. M. van den Brink (1988), 259–63; W. D. E. Coulson, 'Prósphates anaskaphés sti Naukrati kai ta perichora', *Horos* 8/9, 1990/1, 219–30 (the author was so kind as to make the English manuscript available to me).

⁴⁰ *Naukratis* I, 11–16.

⁴¹ *Naukratis* I, 60–2 pls. 32–3.

archaeological evidence thus confirms the existence of the Milesian Sanctuary of Apollo mentioned by Herodotus (2. 178).

When Petrie arrived, he found only a few remains of the mud-brick wall of the temenos, along with remnants of the floor of a temple. He estimated the size of the temenos at some 43×79 m. (140×260 ft.). He thought the temple to have been situated during its two assumed construction periods roughly at the centre of the temenos, its front facing west, since a trench filled with votive offerings ran along the supposed east end.

Petrie's method of excavation was first to dig a trench along the western wall of the temenos, down to the virgin soil beneath it. The workers now dug in a row, passing through the temenos from west to east, until they reached the point marked 'well',⁴² always following the virgin soil beneath the temenos and piling up the turned-over mud behind them. From the above-mentioned point on, digging was effected in smaller sections; nevertheless, it can be said with certainty that every square centimetre would have been examined.

No indications remain of the outline of either one or more temples, leaving the question of number open to speculation. Petrie assumed the construction of two temples, both on the same site within the temenos; Gjerstad,⁴³ for his part, reconstructed four phases of construction within a time span of two generations, something which appears highly unlikely.

According to Petrie, the two temples were of approximately the same size. He put the maximum width at 7.6 m. (25 ft.) and the maximum length at 11 m. (36 ft.). The temples stood on an artificial sandbed some 1.5 m. (5 ft.) in height, the first elevated to approximately the same height as the second.⁴⁴ This would mean that the building material of the first must have been removed before the second was built; otherwise, the debris would have raised the ground level. The architectural remains of both temples are meagre: the *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture* records a grand total of 14 pieces from Temple I⁴⁵ and 30 pieces from Temple II.⁴⁶ Furthermore, all of these remains are merely tiny fragments, which escaped the lime kilns of later periods. Additionally, it must be borne in mind that not all of the architectural items found within the area of the temenos of Apollo need necessarily have belonged to the temples. Nor should the possibility of the erection of bases for votive offerings and small shrines etc. be forgotten.

⁴² *Naukratis* I, pl. 41.

⁴³ Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 67–84; id., *AArch*, 1959, 152f.

⁴⁴ *Naukratis* I, 12f.

⁴⁵ *BMCS* i:1, 172–4 B 391–404; cf. *Naukratis* I, pls. 3, 14a; Weickert, 86f.

⁴⁶ *BMCS* i:1, 176–9 B 405–434; cf. *Naukratis* I, pls. 14, 14a; Weickert, 86f.; S. Altekamp, *Zu griechischer Architekturornamentik im sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (1991), 136–40 for a new examination of most of the pieces.

The only thing that can be inferred with any certainty regarding Temple I on the basis of the architectural pieces belonging to it is that it must have been an Ionian temple. Local Arabs had found the base of a column and the volute of a capital during Petrie's excavation. The volute was destroyed before Petrie could photograph it, but he was able to take a photograph of the base before it was broken up.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no further fragments of architecture were found from which the temple could perhaps be reconstructed.

Attempts have nonetheless been made to reconstruct the Ionian columns, despite the recognized uncertainties. Petrie's attempted reconstruction,⁴⁸ at first generally rejected, has recently met with approval. The spira of the column base from the older Temple of Apollo⁴⁹ is seen by Wesenberg⁵⁰ as belonging to the Samian group. He founds his belief in the accuracy of Petrie's drawing of the base on Petrie's own remark that the base had been discovered intact. Its high conical neck—the very thing that has caused the drawing to be questioned⁵¹—strikes Wesenberg as pointing to Samos. He follows Boardman in dating the Temple of Apollo to shortly before 550 BC.⁵² The so-called 'Rhoikos' Temple (c. 580–560 BC)⁵³ on Samos is somewhat older, rendering a supposition of Samian influence upon the Naukratis Temple of Apollo quite plausible.

Pedersen⁵⁴ considers the fragments of the two decorated column necks B 393 and B 394⁵⁵ to be the oldest of their kind. He dates the Temple of Apollo in Naukratis to around 550 BC, although not by comparison with his material, but takes the date for granted, thus rendering it of little assistance. He assumes Samian influence on the Naukratis model, despite its strongly Egyptianizing characteristics. In order to establish such an influence, it would be necessary to find the remains of column necks with

⁴⁷ Since these pieces were not excavated under Petrie's supervision, it cannot be ascertained without any doubt that they actually belong to the temple of Apollo; cf. von Bissing, 69.

⁴⁸ *Naukratis* I, pl. 3.

⁴⁹ *BMCS* i:1, B 391.

⁵⁰ B. Wesenberg, *Kapitelle und Basen* (1971), 118 no. 4, 122.

⁵¹ Cf. Weickert 86f.; J. Boardman, *Antf* 39, 1959, 203.

⁵² Wesenberg, *op.cit.*, 125. Boardman, *Antf* 39, 1959, 184, has attempted a relative chronology on the basis of the relation between the height of the torus to that of the spira and the height of the spira to its diameter. With the fragment from Naukratis he had to estimate the diameter.

⁵³ Cf. E. Buschor, *AM* 55, 1930, 50f., 84ff. fig. 38. W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (1950), 124, dates it to about 575 BC and consequently puts the Temple of Apollo a little later, at c. 566 BC. H. J. Kienast, *AA* 1992, 174–80 on the Rhoikos temple or first dipteron of Hera. H. Kyrieleis, in *Greek Sanctuaries*, ed. N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (1993), 133f. gives the results of H. Kienast's excavation in 1989, dating the beginning of the Rhoikos temple into the 1st or early 2nd quarter of the 6th c., its completion to around 560 BC.

⁵⁴ P. Pedersen, *JDAI* 98, 1983, 99 s1 (B 393), s2 (B 394a+b) figs. 11f., 116f.

⁵⁵ *BMCS* i:1, B 393 fig. 211, B 394 fig. 212.

anthemion ornamentation on Samos, which are earlier than those at Naukratis. Since the ones known are from the later Polykrates temple, Pedersen sees possible older models in wooden architecture, supposing decorated metal bands to have been placed around the columns to stabilize them. He further assumes that variations of anthemion occurring on and around one temple could perhaps be traced back to different cultural regions,⁵⁶ making it possible to consider an ascription of the meander-patterned column neck B 435⁵⁷ to the Temple of Apollo.

There have been many suggestions regarding the reconstruction of the Ionian capital from the first Temple of Apollo.⁵⁸ Kirchhoff⁵⁹ accepts the accuracy of Petrie's drawing, assuming an echinus lying on a torus section with egg-and-dart moulding, which in turn leads via a massive astragal into the shaft of the column. Furthermore, he considers the preserved egg-and-dart patterned fragments B 397a–d⁶⁰ as not belonging to the capital sketched by Petrie. Kirchhoff infers an early dating of the capital from the relatively small size of the volutes when compared with the distance between them.⁶¹ This leads him to see the Naukratis capital as somewhat younger than the capital from the monumental column of the Naxians in Delphi (c. 580–570 BC),⁶² resulting in a dating of 570–560 BC.⁶³

Assuming a date of between 570 and 555 BC for the first Temple of Apollo at Naukratis and a date for building the Rhoikos Temple on Samos between 580 and 560 BC, the supposition may be made that the so-called Rhoikos Bowl,⁶⁴ from the first quarter of the sixth century, came with the Samian architect⁶⁵ to Naukratis, opening up the possibility of his working here thereafter. In any event, the demonstrable Samian influence on the Temple of Apollo points to a contribution by Samian artists. If Rhoikos

⁵⁶ Pedersen, *op.cit.*, 106.

⁵⁷ *BMCS* i:1, 179 fig. 218, with the qualification that this fragment was found close to the temple of Aphrodite; cf. below, V.3.d.

⁵⁸ Cf. O. Puchstein, *Das ionische Capitell*, 47. *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste* (1887), 27f.; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*² (1950, Reprint 1975) 125f. fig. 47.

⁵⁹ W. Kirchhoff, *Die Entwicklung des ionischen Volutenkapitells im 6. und 5. Jhd. und seine Entstehung* (1988), 197ff.

⁶⁰ Cf. *JDAI* 78, 1963, 137 n. 100, where Gruben once announced an attempt at reconstruction. He observed that the volutes were not made separately but had been broken off.

⁶¹ Kirchhoff, *op.cit.*, 197 n. 696.

⁶² Cf. *ibid.*, 59f.; P. Amandry, *La colonne de Naxiens. Fouilles de Delphes II* (1953), 26–31 pls. 11f.; M. L. Mace, 'The Archaic Ionic Capital. Studies in Formal and Stylistic Development', Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1978), 6f., 15f., 185f., #33.

⁶³ *BMCS* i:1, 171; Mace, *op.cit.*, 36, 205f., #47.

⁶⁴ London BM 1888.6–1.392 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 7.1); cf. V.4.g. *Samos* no. 2 and Appendix 1.h.

⁶⁵ Cf. for discussion on Rhoikos *Samos* vii, 113f. A. Furtwängler, *AM* 99, 1984, 101f., regards Rhoikos as the architect of the Polycratan Hera temple and therefore questions the connection between the earlier bowl and the later Samian architect.

really did travel to Egypt, then he could indeed have gathered inspiration for the Rhoikos Altar—as conjectured by Hoffmann⁶⁶—among other sources from the step altar of the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis,⁶⁷ probably erected at the beginning of the sixth century.

The date for the Apollo temple would nicely match the reform of Amasis, through which the position of the Greeks in Naukratis was consolidated, leading to their decision to build a temple. However, the presence of votive offerings as far down as the oldest layers means that we must suppose a temporary shrine to have stood there before the first stone temple was constructed.⁶⁸

According to Petrie,⁶⁹ Temple II was built predominantly of mud bricks with a coating of stucco, while the columns and ornamentation were of marble. Unfortunately, the remains are even more fragmentary than those of Temple I, not even one column fragment surviving. Pryce⁷⁰ differentiates between external fragments, of a marble similar to that from Paros, and internal ones, of a translucent, bluish marble. Recently, a stable isotope analysis of samples from these marble fragments was conducted which reached the conclusion that the marble probably came from Ephesus.⁷¹ Yet marble was not the only stone used, assuming that the spandrel palmette B 398⁷² and the corner palmette B 434, both of limestone, belong to Temple II. Likewise, Petrie links the fragments of the three limestone rosettes B 400–2⁷³ to Temple II; they could have been inserted into the stuccoed mud-brick wall at the entrance to the temple. Pryce⁷⁴ sees these rosettes as belonging to Temple I. However, neither author takes into consideration their different sizes and forms (B 402 is smaller and flatter), factors which suggest that they might at least have had different locations.

Boardman, noting similarities between fragments of Temple II and early fifth-century kymatia from Chios,⁷⁵ deduces a dating of Temple II to around 500 BC or somewhere in the first quarter of the fifth century, a date

⁶⁶ H. Hoffmann, *AJA* 57, 1953, 193 ff.

⁶⁷ Pace Boardman, *AntJ* 39, 1959, 203 n. 7.

⁶⁸ Cf. *BMCS* i:1, 171; Boardman, *GO*³, 140.

⁶⁹ *Naukratis* I, 14–16.

⁷⁰ *BMCS* i:1, 175 f.

⁷¹ K. Matthews, in S. Altekamp, *Zu griechischer Architekturomamentik im sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1991), 390 f.

⁷² Weickert, 86, assumed that the fragment in *Naukratis* I, pl. 14a in the upper left corner, could belong to Temple I; cf. von Bissing, 71 f.

⁷³ *Naukratis* I, 15 pl. 18.7–9.

⁷⁴ *BMCS* i:1, 174. Von Bissing, 68, compared them with a similar fragment from Ephesus (Hogarth, *Excavation Atlas*, 270, pl. 8), the use of which is equally uncertain. Together with the Ephesian marble of Temple I it could indicate more Ephesian influence than suggested by the written sources.

⁷⁵ Boardman, *AntJ* 39, 1959, 203 f.; cf. von Bissing, 73; S. Altekamp, op. cit., 362 f. dates these into the late 6th or early 5th c.

further supported by inscription B 427,⁷⁶ which probably belongs to Temple II and can be dated to the early fifth century. Volute B 419, which may be compared with fragments of architecture from Chios,⁷⁷ is indicative of Chian influence. Dinsmoor⁷⁸ compared the architectural fragments of Temple II with the architectural ornaments of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, achieving a date just after 525 BC. This might be too early, since the amount of pottery found reveals a break in the last quarter of the sixth century, indicating that Naukratis was perhaps initially affected by the Persian invasion.

b. The Temenos of the Dioskouroi

A sanctuary was discovered to the north of the Temenos of Apollo which, although not mentioned by any classical author, can be identified as the Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi⁷⁹ (Figures 1–3) by means of vase inscriptions.⁸⁰ The most important fragment comes from a middle Corinthian column krater bearing the inscription ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΙΣΙ/ . . . ΑΝ]ΕΘΗ[ΚΕΝ (. . . dedicated to the Dioskouroi),⁸¹ found together with other fragments on the western side of the temenos in loose, muddy sand.⁸²

Petrie investigated the walls of the temenos, the plan giving one the impression that they were already highly incomplete at the time of excavation. They seem thinner to the west on the plan. It is possible that these are not the temenos walls at all, but those of another building, especially since Gardner found the temple unusually situated in the north-western corner of the temenos.⁸³ Petrie maintained that he had cleared the entire temenos, leaving only 'a few heaps'—yet he says nothing about the temple itself. It fell to Gardner to find it, facing west; he describes it as a *templum in antis*.⁸⁴ The walls and pillars were of unfired mud bricks, making it difficult for the excavators to distinguish them from the surrounding Nile mud. The brickwork was covered with stucco, at least in the final building phase. The stucco had survived in places on the pillars, but had broken away from the inner walls of the cella and was lying on the ground. It was

⁷⁶ BMCS i:1, 175 fig. 178, 214; *Naukratis* I, pl. 14a.

⁷⁷ Cf. von Bissing, 72; Weickert, 129; Dinsmoor, *BCH* 37, 1913, 15 n. 1, observed a convex *canalis* with the 'eye' omitted.

⁷⁸ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (1950), 134 n. 1; id., *BCH* 37, 1913, 15f. with n. 1.

⁷⁹ *Naukratis* I, 16 pl. 41; *Naukratis* II, 30–2 pls. 1, 4.

⁸⁰ *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 35 nos. 665, 675–82 on Ionian bowls, Chian chalices, and an eye-bowl; *Naukratis* II, 67 nos. 833–40 on black-glazed bowls; Bernand i 3, 675 no. 347, 690f. nos. 482–9; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 30, 50 pl. 4.35, 36, 38, 49 (Oxford G 141.49) on Ionian bowls.

⁸¹ *Naukratis* I, pls. 6.6, 62; 35. 665; *SGDI* 5769; cf. Bernand i 3, 674 no. 327, 675 no. 344.

⁸² *Naukratis* I, 16.

⁸³ Cf. von Bissing, 74.

⁸⁴ *Naukratis* II, 30ff. pls. 1, 4.

still possible to recognize the glorious colours in which it had been painted, probably in a meander pattern with stars framed by squares.⁸⁵

The best-preserved remains of the cella wall were found on the north side, although a gap had been made by a well sunk in later times. Three of the pillars had survived, allowing the calculation of a symmetrical portico with four pillars. The result is a temple with naos and pronaos, two rectangular pillars *in antis*, a further two pillars adjoining the antae (Figure 3).

A fragment of coarse pottery was found under the temple, with part of a dedicatory inscription to Apollo.⁸⁶ Its location, in undisturbed earth circa 45 cm. (18 in.) under the foot of the pillars, would point to its having come here long before the temple was built. This suggests that the cult of Apollo was older than that of the Dioskouroi, or at least that it was in existence before the Temple of the Dioskouroi was constructed.

The form of the temple is of no help in dating. It stood roughly at the same level as the Temple of Apollo, the latter being built on a bank of earth. The only surviving fragment of architecture is supposedly a section from a column neck of fine, hard, white limestone with the remnants of an inscription]MA[found already by Petrie.⁸⁷ One is inclined to ask what a column drum might be doing in a temple with rectangular pillars, and where the sense lies in placing an inscription so high up. Petrie dates the inscription to the same time as the construction of the second Temple of Apollo; von Bissing⁸⁸ places the inscription after Amasis.

Like Petrie, Gardner supposes the Temple of the Dioskouroi to have been built at the same time as the second Temple of Apollo, placing it for his part in the mid-fifth century. With no datable fragments of architecture, however, and in the absence of wall remains that could be dated with the help of pottery, any dating of the temple is out of the question. The only hint is offered by the unidentifiable sherd with the dedicatory inscription to Apollo, which may provide an indication that the first Temple of Apollo was constructed before the Temple of the Dioskouroi; yet even this remains unclear, as we have dedications to Apollo before the first temple was built. On the other hand, the discovery of sixth-century pottery bearing dedications to the Dioskouroi means that we must assume this sanctuary, too, came into existence much earlier than its temple was built.

⁸⁵ Von Bissing, 74, arguing against this reconstruction, held that the remains of stucco do not necessarily belong to the temple, since the strata had suffered considerable destruction. Also, he objected a dating to the 6th c.; which was not proposed by Gardner.

⁸⁶ *Naukratis* II, 31.

⁸⁷ *BMCS* i:1 B 436; *Naukratis* I, 16 pl. 35.688; Bernand i 3, 675 no. 348 lists it under vase inscriptions.

⁸⁸ Von Bissing, 74.

c. *The Temenos of Hera*

Petrie⁸⁹ had already found indications, in the form of votive inscriptions, of a temenos of Hera (Figures 1–2), such as is mentioned by Herodotus (2. 178), and had supposed it to lie between the Sanctuary of Apollo and that of the Dioskouroi, somewhat to the west of them. Gardner,⁹⁰ however, excavating the few undisturbed spots within the temenos walls considered by Petrie⁹¹ to constitute the boundary of a palaistra, found further evidence, in the form of votive inscriptions, for a cult of Hera at this place. Gardner regarded this area as among those that had suffered most destruction.

He located traces of a building with inner dimensions of 17 m. (56 ft.) north–south and 6 m. (18 ft. 10 in.) east–west.⁹² It was surrounded by a mud-brick wall some 66 cm. (26 in.) thick—far too thin for a mud-brick wall intended to support a building of this size. The space within these walls had been carefully levelled and covered with sand. Gardner interpreted these remains as the foundations of a building surrounded by a mud-brick wall. The height of the levelled area is some 15 cm. (6 in.) lower than the Temple of Apollo.

Does this signify that the supposed Temple of Hera is the oldest temple built of stone in Naukratis? A fragment of limestone egg-and-dart moulding would appear to be the only piece of architecture found, linked by Gardner⁹³ to the oldest Temple of Hera; unfortunately, no drawing or photograph exists. Any attempt at dating is therefore no more than sheer supposition.⁹⁴ The only pottery which can be connected with certainty to the Heraion comprises the so-called Hera cups, which have been made from c.625 to the second half of the sixth century BC.⁹⁵

The orientation of this temple deviates from the east–west pattern that is otherwise customary in Naukratis. The foundations of two pillars at a distance of c.2 m.⁹⁶ from each other were found less than 3 m. (9 ft.) away from the southern wall in a line with the east wall, the space between being plastered. It remains unclear whether the pillars have any significance of their own or whether they belong to a building.

⁸⁹ *Naukratis I*, 16 pls. 34. 447; 35. 689.

⁹⁰ *Naukratis II*, 13, 67 nos. 841–8 pl. 22; *JHS* 25, 1905, 117 no. 7; Bernard i 3, 691f. nos. 490–7; T. Hadzisteliou Price, *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (1978), 161 interprets *Naukratis I*, 62 no. 447 (BM London 1910.2–22.60) and no. 689 as epigraphic evidence for the cult of Hera Eileithyia. However, the inscriptions give the name of Hera only.

⁹¹ *Naukratis I*, 35. Petrie concluded from the inscription on p. 63 pl. 30.4 that the palaistra of Apollo must have been situated next to the temenos of Apollo.

⁹² *Naukratis II*, 60f.

⁹³ *Naukratis II*, 61.

⁹⁴ Weickert, 32f., nevertheless dates the Hera temple to the second half of the 7th c., relating it to Prinz's (p. 2) dating of the Milesian trading post to around 650 BC.

⁹⁵ *Naukratis II*, 61; cf. V.4.a., below.

⁹⁶ Measurement given by von Bissing, 67.

d. The Temenos of Aphrodite

The finds from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (Figures 1, 3–4), which was discovered by Gardner,⁹⁷ render it the most important and richest temenos. Undisturbed layers were discovered here, with recognizable mud-brick foundations and a wealth of pottery—on some days about 5,000 sherds—the recovery of which took three months.

While Herodotus does not mention the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, we have late literary evidence in Athenaios' account of the rescue of Herostratos.⁹⁸ However, the story is likely to be an *aition*, therefore not providing us with a date. A first-century BC votive poem to Aphrodite has survived, providing further evidence of the cult's existence.⁹⁹

Gardner distinguishes three construction phases for the temple. The earliest, Temple I, was built on virgin soil, together with a step altar in front of its east façade.¹⁰⁰ The temple would appear to have lain some 50 cm. (20 in.) higher than the Temple of Apollo, whose temenos wall included in the stratigraphic sketch¹⁰¹ was also roughly on a level with the Temple of Aphrodite.

The ground plan of Temple I has a cella and opisthodomos 14×8 m. in size, the latter accessible from the middle of the cella's backwall. The ground plan was ascertained less through an identification of the mud-brick walls than by marking the plaster floor with a knife. The walls were also covered with plaster, although no traces of decoration were found.

Some time after the construction of Temple I, the floor inside and the ground level between the temple and the altar was raised by about 30 cm. (1 ft.) and also covered with plaster. Pottery fragments were found to the east of the altar both above and below this second floor.

The step altar comprised a thin surrounding wall of stuccoed mud bricks, which was filled with ashes. A flight of three steps—four after the second floor of Temple I had been put in—led to the platform. Small wings projected on each side, resembling the ramps of Egyptian step altars as at Tell el Amarna and Saqqarah¹⁰² and perhaps representing a link between Egyptian and Ionian step altars.¹⁰³ The wings were built at different times. The southern one lies on the same level as the altar itself; the fitting of the second floor and the consequent alteration in the number of steps soon led

⁹⁷ *Naukratis* II, 11–13, 14f., 33–7 pls. 1–3.

⁹⁸ Athen. 15. 676bf.

⁹⁹ Archias, *Anth. Pal.* 6. 207.

¹⁰⁰ Weickert, 64, dates Temple I and altar to the 7th c.; cf. Prinz, 11.

¹⁰¹ *Naukratis* I, pl. 44.

¹⁰² Cf. H. Hoffmann, *AJA* 57, 1953, 190–2 pls. 55–6.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 193 ff., assumes a journey to Egypt by Rhoikos, the Samian architect (cf. V.4.g *Samos* no. 2) who could have been inspired by the Egyptian stepped altars; cf. W. Davis, *JEA* 67, 1981, 73.

to the burial of the bottom step, whereupon the southern wing was renewed and the northern one erected. It was at this time that the altar was also coated with a fresh layer of stucco. Various other mud-brick constructions were added later. These observations all indicate a gradual rise in the height of the ground.

The temenos wall was constructed during the phase of Temple I, apart from a section on the east side, which nevertheless predates Temple II. There were also two wells, although they clearly fell into disuse in later times.

The sequence of layers in the Temenos of Aphrodite poses some problems.¹⁰⁴ There are continuous layers of pottery, terracotta, ash and bone outside Temple I. This is all covered with a thick layer of sand on top of which, but under the level of Temple II, again fragments of pottery etc. are to be found. The accumulations must have grown continuously, as can be shown by the altar and its alterations. It remains unclear when the layer of sand was deposited. The layer of pottery etc., which follows upon the layer of sand, contains finds apparently having the same date as those from the layer under the sand. However, this second layer could stem from a putative destruction of Temple I, with a consequent scattering of the votive pottery from the temple, in the course of the Persian invasion.

Temple II was built on the levelled remains of Temple I, albeit slightly altered in orientation and size in comparison with its predecessor. The entrance to the opisthodomos would seem to have been moved towards the north wall. The walls were covered both inside and out with stucco, as was the floor. The south-western corner of the cella yielded fragments of bronze, a gold disc, and iron tools, as well as traces of blue paint, which must have fallen from the walls.

According to the plan, the altar no longer existed in the second phase. Yet a Greek temple always has an altar; it is likely that the second-phase altar was simply not found. A structure, however, was located at the temenos wall in the entrance area; it ends in a square pillar overlapping the northern wing of the first-phase altar. Perhaps it belonged to a form of gate.

Temple III, somewhat smaller than its predecessors, consisted of only one room. Fragments of a plaster floor were found in the temenos, partly from the second phase, partly from the third, leading to the inference of a gradual rise in the floor's height with an accompanying process of renewal, as is usual with mud-brick buildings.

No standing masonry or architectural fragments were found. The only piece from the vicinity of the temenos, B435,¹⁰⁵ was discovered a year

¹⁰⁴ *Naukratis* II pl. 3.

¹⁰⁵ *BMCS* i:1, 179, fig. 218; P. Pedersen, *JDAI* 98, 1983, 106 n. 45.

before the actual sanctuary was found. It is the fragment of a limestone column neck, decorated with a meander pattern in low relief divided into small squares by incised grooves. The upper end of the fluting is visible.¹⁰⁶ Von Bissing,¹⁰⁷ while not prepared to try his luck at a reconstruction, was of the opinion that the fragment is somewhat Archaic in appearance and so could date back to the sixth century.

The extensive finds of pottery demonstrate the existence of this sanctuary from the earliest period of the site.¹⁰⁸ Most of the Cypriot statuettes of Aphrodite, likewise dating from the end of the seventh century into the sixth, were found here.¹⁰⁹

e. The Temenos of Zeus

No evidence was found for the existence of a sanctuary of Aeginetan Zeus, as mentioned in Herodotus 2. 178.¹¹⁰ An indication of the worship of Zeus in Naukratis can be seen in the apparently Archaic inscription *ἱερὸν Δι[ὸς ἁπ]/οτροπ[αίου]*,¹¹¹ discovered by Arabs in the area of the Temenos of Hera and therefore a clue as to possible joint worship of Zeus and Hera. Alternatively, Zeus could have been worshipped under the open sky, as was usual down to the sixth century.

We cannot determine who scratched the graffito *τ]ὸι Ζεὺς τ]ὸι . . .*¹¹² Unfortunately, the script does not provide sufficient evidence for us to be able to say with certainty whether it was dedicated by an Aeginetan, since the alphabet could also point to a Mytilenian, although zeta is as yet otherwise unattested in the Archaic script there.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Naukratis* I, 16f.

¹⁰⁷ Von Bissing, 65.

¹⁰⁸ *Naukratis* II, 38–54.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. V.4.e.

¹¹⁰ Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (p. 227) hopes that it still can be found. I doubt this, because, should it have been in the area of the other Archaic sanctuaries, it would have been found already by the old excavators since they dug in a very thorough manner. Today, it would be impossible to find it there, as the area is waterlogged. If it was outside this area which is now a lake, it would be strange that the American survey had not reported traces of an Archaic temenos.

¹¹¹ London BM 1089; *Naukratis* II, 68 pl. 22.14; Bernard i 3, 761 no. 30 pl. 40; cf. H. Schwabl, *RE* XA, cols. 275f.; id., *RE* Suppl. 15, col. 1194 s.v. 'Zeus Apotropaïos'. H. Bowden, in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (1996), 21, considers it a *horos*.

¹¹² London BM 1886.4-1.261 (?Ionian bowl, *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.122; Bernard i 3, 651 no. 84); cf. C. Smith, *CR* 5, 1891, 77f. for *Ζηνί* on a bronze sheet of Egyptian workmanship with bilingual inscription probably covering a wooden base; cf. D. Mallet, *Les premiers établissements des Grecs en Egypte* (1893), 447f.; *LSAG*, 358 no. 49 pl. 70.

¹¹³ Cf. *LSAG*, 359ff. and her Table of Letters.

f. *The Hellenion*¹¹⁴

Herodotus 2. 178 describes the Hellenion as the best-known and most visited sanctuary in Naukratis. Its building involved the joint efforts of nine poleis. Petrie¹¹⁵ supposed the Hellenion to be identical with the Great Temenos that he had discovered. In 1899, while digging to the north-east of the old excavation area, Hogarth¹¹⁶ discovered buildings with several chambers and sherds bearing inscriptions to individual deities such as Aphrodite, ?Heracles, Artemis, and ?Poseidon, but also to the collective gods of the Greeks, these found in particular to the north-west of Well 35.¹¹⁷ These buildings were surrounded by a temenos wall of mud-bricks, with a thickness of 7.6–9.0 m.; it can be seen on the map (Figure 5) near 34 to the west, 39 to the south, and 67 to the east.¹¹⁸ This area was excavated during the 1899 campaign along a north–south length of 107 m. (350 ft.). It was possible to extend the area under investigation somewhat to the north in 1903, until work was hindered by the water table which made it impossible to locate the northern boundary wall; it probably lies under what is today cultivated ground. Hogarth's identification, based upon inscriptions, of the buildings surrounded by a temenos wall as being the Hellenion will presumably be correct.¹¹⁹

It is difficult to reconstruct the architectural development of the building complex, much having already suffered destruction before digging commenced and deep standing water hampering the excavation of the lowest layers.

The oldest structures lay in the section which had suffered the greatest destruction, the presumed south-west area of the Hellenion. The temenos walls in the west and south go down to the virgin soil; the oldest sherds were found immediately inside them.¹²⁰ The traces of a large mud-brick

¹¹⁴ Bold numbers in the text refer to Fig. 5. Cf. Fig. 1 for the situation of the Hellenion within Naukratis.

¹¹⁵ *Naukratis* I, 23f.

¹¹⁶ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 28–39; *JHS* 25, 1905, 110, 112–18.

¹¹⁷ Aphrodite: In addition to the inscribed pottery, the worship of Aphrodite can be proved by so-called Aphrodite heads, child-birth votive figures, etc., from the 6th to 4th c. BC, which were found around 9, 11, 12, 14, 14a, 35; cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 72. ?Heracles: *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 53 no. 3, 55 no. 63. Artemis: *JHS* 25, 1905, 115. ?Poseidon: *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 38f.; *JHS* 25, 1905, 116ff. To the gods of the Hellenes: *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 31, 39, 54 nos. 14–20, 55 nos. 71–81 on Attic black-glazed kylikes; for the shape cf. *British Museum Catalogue Vases* ii, 5 fig. 16; cf. *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 35.690 (fragment found between the sanctuaries of Apollo and the Dioskouroi); *JHS* 25, 1905, 117 nos. 1–4.

¹¹⁸ The eastern wall was only discovered in 1903; cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 116f.; 39 is indicated on pl. 2 in *ABSA* 5, 1889/9.

¹¹⁹ Von Bissing, 80, doubted whether the chambers 10–20 and passageway 28 could belong to a temple; cf. p. 76, where he suggests a comparison with houses in Dimeh and Karanis. Doubts about the identification are renewed by H. Bowden, in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (1996), 22ff.

¹²⁰ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 30; cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 114 pl. 5.1 for fragments found near 67.

platform (8), the pieces of a threshold of red granite (1), suggestive of an Egyptian rather than Greek temple,¹²¹ and Chamber 3, in which a votive inscription to Apollo was found on a North Ionian LWG vase from before 570 BC,¹²² all apparently belong to these oldest layers. The remnants of the sandstone structures 7, 9, 16 and 17, located underneath the later chambers, should also be attributed to the oldest period; these remains of walls are oriented parallel to the walls of chambers 3 and 5. The large earthenware basin (18) in which the sandstone relief of a warrior¹²³ was found is presumably connected with this structure. These oldest remnants from the Hellenion go back to the first half of the sixth century BC,¹²⁴ yet the mass of the vase fragments is not older than the second quarter of the sixth century,¹²⁵ allowing the conclusion that the Hellenion was either newly constructed following Amasis' reform in 570 BC or took at least its shape.

The long east–west wall of mud-bricks, adjoining Chambers 10, 11, 14, 15, 19 and 20 of the same material, lies on top of these oldest structures and sherds. Terracottas and rf sherds from the late fifth century BC were found on what remained of the floors. This indicates that the reconstruction of the Hellenion must have taken place before the end of the fifth century BC, perhaps during the first half but at the latest in the mid-fifth century BC.¹²⁶ Chambers 12, 13, 14, 14a and 22 should also be seen in connection with the chambers bordering on the wall; however, excavation on the former was considerably impaired by the water table. Fragments of a late Attic rf vase were found in 14a, terracottas from the fifth and fourth centuries in 14, and an early Chian sherd¹²⁷ in the mud of Chamber 22.

The year 1903 saw the discovery of the other chambers belonging to this period, namely 57, 59, 61, 64 and 65. Bf sherds were found under their walls, together with rf sherds at some height above the foundations, along with the other fragments in 64 of the Stesichoros Kylix found in 1899.¹²⁸ The stone foundations found under the Ptolemaic Chamber 63 presumably belong here chronologically on account of the items with which they were found; moreover, they lie on top of 60 cm. of older finds, such as Chian

¹²¹ ABSA 5, 1898/9, 30, 35; von Bissing, 76.

¹²² ABSA 5, 1898/9, 31, 55 no. 51 (cf. V.4.g. Chios no. 2c and Appendix 1.d.); cf. a vase of the same style Oxford G 119.42 (pl. 6.7–8); measurement of the mud-bricks does not yield a firm dating of this chamber.

¹²³ ABSA 5, 1898/9, 33, 65–7 pl. 9; BMCS i:1 B 437; unfortunately, it cannot be dated precisely, and furthermore appears to be unfinished. It could belong to the oldest structures, but could also have been buried here later; cf. JHS 25, 1905, 126f. fig. 8 for the same type.

¹²⁴ Cf. ABSA 5, 1898/9, 35.

¹²⁵ Cf. pottery finds in ABSA 5, 1898/9, 59 pl. 7.1a–d (LWG), 62 pl. 8.6 (LC krater); JHS 25, 1905, 118–22; there was little LWG, but Fikellura ware, Clazomenian and Attic bf vases were found.

¹²⁶ Cf. ABSA 5, 1898/9, 9, 36.

¹²⁷ ABSA 5, 1898/9, 33f., 69.

¹²⁸ JHS 25, 1905, 114, 120 pl. 6.5; ARV², 326.93.

sherds.¹²⁹ An older floor was found under the Ptolemaic one in Chamber 58; it seems to belong to this period.

The Ptolemaic layer is delimited by an underlying sand-bed 0.6–2.0 m. thick which appears to have been deposited artificially, perhaps as a result of an increase in the ground-water level. This sand deposit could be seen in 37, 39, 40 and 42 in the south, 46 and 49 in the west, under 63, and everywhere in the north-east.¹³⁰

Chambers 23–27 in particular belong to the Ptolemaic reconstruction or new building, and adjoin a passageway (28). The finds from here were very meagre, apart from some late Greek and Roman sherds.¹³¹ The Ptolemaic temple was perhaps adorned with Ionic building elements, as apparently indicated by an Ionic capital with part of a volute.¹³² The eastern section of the Hellenion, which was not excavated until 1903, was also renewed or extended in the Ptolemaic period.¹³³

As far as can be ascertained from the ground plan, the Hellenion is no typical Greek temple. Instead, the layout of the chambers calls to mind the Graeco-Egyptian temples in the Fayûm, such as at Dionysias (Qasr Qerûn), Karanis (Kum Ushim) and Bacchias (Umm el Atl).¹³⁴

To sum up, we can portray the development of the Hellenion as follows. Three phases of building may be identified, in each case of stone and mud-brick.¹³⁵ The buildings from the Ptolemaic period (Phase III) can be classified best, since their walls survived in part to a height of 1 m. The vase fragments come from a period stretching from the third century BC down to Roman times. The buildings were constructed on a sandbed probably deposited in Ptolemaic times for the purpose of reconstruction work on the Hellenion, this sand-bed overlying structures from the fifth century BC (Phase II). Naukratis might have experienced a period of decline following the Persian invasion in 525 BC, lasting until some time in the next century. The succeeding upswing of the *empóron*'s fortunes made itself evident in renewed constructional activity not only in the Hellenion (new buildings with a slightly altered alignment) but also on the Temple of Apollo (second building phase in the first quarter of the fifth century) and the Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi (construction of the temple). The oldest phase of construction should presumably be seen within the context of Amasis' reform in

¹²⁹ *JHS* 25, 1905, 114f.

¹³⁰ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 36 with n. 1, 37; *JHS* 25, 1905, 109, 115.

¹³¹ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 34.

¹³² *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 37; cf. von Bissing's sceptical remarks on p. 80.

¹³³ *JHS* 25, 1905, 115.

¹³⁴ Cf. *EEF Fayûm*; comparison is difficult, as these buildings have never been published comprehensively. However, they date from the Hellenistic to Roman periods.

¹³⁵ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 42.

570 BC. Although not built over in later times, it is unfortunately precisely these structures, lying in the south of the temenos, which have suffered most from the quarrying activities of the *sebakhin*.

The surveys undertaken by Coulson and Leonard¹³⁶ in 1980 and 1981 along the edge of the lake that today covers Naukratis produced a mass of late Classical and Hellenistic sherds from the area of the Hellenion. Unfortunately, the high water-level made excavation impossible, but core drillings¹³⁷ were carried out in 1982. No pottery was found in drill-hole A, to the north of the Hellenion; on the other hand, drill-hole B, east of the section of the Hellenion excavated by Hogarth, yielded numerous—if relatively uninformative—sherds and small pieces of charcoal. This suggests that the Hellenion extended in an eastwards—not northwards—direction, indicating that the temple had a canonical east–west orientation.

g. The Great Temenos

The largest building structure discovered by Petrie in 1884/5 was a massive mud-brick edifice surrounded by a temenos wall, the so-called ‘Great Temenos’ (Figures 1 and 6), which he identified with the Hellenion.¹³⁸ He described a temenos wall some 15 m. thick (50 ft. on average), running approximately 260×230 m. (851–870×742–746 ft.). He stated the height as 8.80 m. (29 ft.) at better-preserved places, estimating the original height to have been some 12 m. (40 ft.). However, Petrie¹³⁹ ascertained that the entire wall—apart from a small section on the south side near the south-western corner—had been dismantled by the Arabs down to the present level, a mere 1.50 m. to 3 m. (5–10 ft.) remaining in many places. The survival of the higher sections is attributable to the fact that there was an Arab cemetery to the south-west and some houses were built against the wall. If his remarks are compared with his plan,¹⁴⁰ in which those areas under cultivation are indicated by hatching, then doubts unavoidably emerge regarding the reconstruction of his temenos walls. It could be that Petrie interpreted the remains of houses later found by Hogarth¹⁴¹ as a continuous temenos wall. None of the pottery found there could be dated to before 500 BC.

Petrie uncovered a Ptolemaic building on the west side of his reconstructed temenos walls.¹⁴² He found traces of a pylon on the external long

¹³⁶ *JARCE* 19, 1982, 79f.

¹³⁷ *JARCE* 19, 1982, 92 fig. 5; *Muse* 16, 1982, 144–6.

¹³⁸ *Naukratis* I, 23f.

¹³⁹ *Naukratis* I, 24.

¹⁴⁰ *Naukratis* I, pl. 40.

¹⁴¹ *JHS* 25, 1905, 111.

¹⁴² *Naukratis* I, 26–30 pl. 42; cf. von Bissing, 61f.

side—something typical of Egyptian temples—constructed entirely of stone.¹⁴³ The building itself was of clay bricks, mortar remains indicating that it was covered with stone slabs. The reconstruction of the entrances—which, while no longer in existence, could be ascertained from the pylon—enabled him to establish an entrance building to the Great Temenos.¹⁴⁴ He located four foundation deposits in the corners of the building, dated by a cartouche of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (282–246 BC).¹⁴⁵ Von Bissing¹⁴⁶ likewise supposed this structure to represent the entrance building to an Egyptian temple, the latter perhaps begun by Ptolemy I Soter (323/2–282 BC). A clue supporting the notion of a temple built by Ptolemy I may be seen in a hieroglyphic inscription naming Ptolemy I, published by Edgar¹⁴⁷ and found in Naukratis in 1914. In Edgar's opinion, it can only have stood in an Egyptian temple dedicated to Amun. The cult of Amun at Naukratis was demonstrated by J. Yoyotte,¹⁴⁸ who showed that Amun was worshipped at Naukratis with the qualification 'of Batet' or under the title 'Lord of Batet'. That there must have been a formal cult of this Amun is very likely, since there are references to priests of this deity.

The most important building within the Great Temenos is an immense mud-brick edifice with a roughly square ground-plan, named the 'Great Mound' (Figure 6).¹⁴⁹ Petrie reconstructed the external measurements as 55×54 m. (180×177–179 ft.), and the height as at least 15 m. (50 ft.), a good 10 m. still standing in his day. There are 26 chambers grouped on each side of a central corridor; access is gained to them by means of other, smaller corridors. A symmetrical structure results, with the main corridor as the axis. The connecting passages were located at a height of 5 m. (17–18 ft.), leading to the supposition that this was the ground floor, with the rooms beneath forming a kind of cellar; however, some of the cells were filled solid with mud brick or debris which contained a bronze coin of Alexander and other Ptolemaic finds. The flooring laid on top of the cells must have been of wood. Petrie supposed the main entrance to have been in the north, since two rooms, which he characterized as guardrooms, lead off directly here from the main corridor. He consequently considered this

¹⁴³ Von Bissing, 61, mentions that Petrie later abandoned his theory regarding the existence of the stone porch before the gates. B. Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 100 with n. 8, calls this structure 'porch' instead of pylon which he confines to its Egyptological meaning.

¹⁴⁴ *Naukratis* I, 26.

¹⁴⁵ *Naukratis* I, 28–31 pls. 25–6. This is the only instance where he dated on the basis of excavated finds, usually attempting a dating using the debatable measurement of bricks.

¹⁴⁶ Von Bissing, 61 f.; id., *F&F* 25, 1949, 1.

¹⁴⁷ C. C. Edgar, *ASAE* 22, 1922, 1–6. Cf. Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 110.

¹⁴⁸ J. Yoyotte, *REgypt* 34, 1982/3, 129–36.

¹⁴⁹ *Naukratis* I, 24 f. pl. 43; von Bissing, 5–9.

building to be a stronghold,¹⁵⁰ although the only purpose he could see in the cellars was as store-rooms. Hogarth,¹⁵¹ finding no indication of a Greek presence here and unable even to ascribe a sacral character to the building, considered it an Egyptian fort. In doing so, however, he was assuming that there had been an Egyptian settlement to the south of Naukratis. He, too, merely supposed a dating to the time of Psammetichos I, so that the lack of Greek evidence can be regarded as an indicator in favour of a dating to the Ptolemaic period.

A similar building was excavated by Petrie in Tell Defenneh.¹⁵² Its foundation deposits date it to the time of Psammetichos I, although the majority of the Greek finds come from 570 to about 525 BC. Tell Defenneh is generally interpreted as a fort in which Greek mercenaries discharged their duties, although von Bissing is rather of the opinion that it was the storehouse of a temple. He cites other examples of storehouses from the Graeco-Roman period with which the building in Naukratis can be compared.¹⁵³

While Karen Wilson¹⁵⁴ regards buildings of this kind in the Nile Delta as enigmatic structures, Oren¹⁵⁵ has suggested that engineering purposes could lie behind the construction of such chambers underneath the high-built floor. He excludes the possibility of storage cellars in the waterlogged plain of the Delta, explaining the shaft and corridor system as counteracting dampness thereby providing for proper drainage of the brick masses. Moreover, building gigantic walls or platforms entirely of mud bricks required the inclusion of hollowed compartments to relieve the tremendous pressure created by masses of brick. He interprets these buildings as primarily military architecture.

Against this widespread assumption of military significance for these buildings Brian Muhs¹⁵⁶ makes it quite clear that Egyptian forts looked different. The use of cellular constructions is not by itself evidence that the buildings at Naukratis or Tell Defenneh were forts. Muhs¹⁵⁷ identifies quite convincingly the 'Great Mound' at Naukratis as one of the Egyptian 'high' or 'peripteral' temples which were built in the fourth and third centuries

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 43.

¹⁵¹ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 43.

¹⁵² *Tanis* ii, 52–5 pl. 44; cf. von Bissing, 56f. fig. 6.

¹⁵³ Von Bissing, 57–9, gives unavailable literature of poorly published buildings; cf. id., *F&F* 25, 1949, 1f.; B. Kemp, *MDAI(K)* 33, 1977, 101–8, for the palace of Apries at Memphis. For Mendes see K. L. Wilson, 'Mendes: Report on the 1979 and 1980 Seasons', in *Cities of the Delta II: Mendes*, *ARCE Reports* 5 (1982) 41 ff.

¹⁵⁴ Wilson, *op.cit.*, 43.

¹⁵⁵ E. Oren, *BASOR* 256, 1984, 13.

¹⁵⁶ Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 107ff.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 112f. fig. 8.

BC. These are platforms usually found inside Egyptian temple enclosures, off the main axis of the temple and oriented at a right angle to it, facing towards the temple. The raised floors of the platforms were usually reached by external ramps or stairways of stone or mud-brick, which led to columned courts in the front parts of the platform. The Great Temenos would then be the ideal candidate for the Egyptian temple enclosure of the Ptolemaic period for Amun of Batet, as suggested by hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek inscriptions.¹⁵⁸ The failure to find the main temple can easily be explained by the fact that stone buildings were used as quarries, resulting in the complete absence of such traces.¹⁵⁹

However, the existence of a further major structure, found by Petrie between the entrance building and the Great Mound, remains uncertain and cannot necessarily be taken to represent the missing temple.¹⁶⁰ Arabs are quoted as saying that it had resembled a 'house in Cairo'. After a few years, it was no longer possible to locate the remains of these walls either, drawn by Petrie on his plan in the north-western corner of the Great Temenos.¹⁶¹

Upon arriving in Naukratis in 1898, Hogarth could merely ascertain that the Great Temenos had meanwhile become a cornfield.¹⁶² In 1903 he undertook a search for the north-western corner of Petrie's Great Temenos.¹⁶³ His efforts met with failure: he was unable to find even traces of walls described as so massive in form. Instead, he came across the remains of residential buildings dating back to the fifth century BC at the earliest. He used the still existing Islamic cemetery as his point of reference in locating the south-western corner, and accordingly rejected the possibility that he could have been digging in the wrong place. For this reason, Hogarth is even inclined to suspect that Petrie did not excavate at all but merely believed the stories told him by Arabs. It is for this reason that he ultimately dismisses the idea of a Great Temenos altogether.¹⁶⁴

In 1977/8, Coulson and Leonard¹⁶⁵ observed a mound 60×90 m. large and 5 m. high, they called the 'South Mound', in the middle of the Arab village of Kom Ge-if, on the south bank of the lake that covers Naukratis today. They found traces there of a modern cemetery which had been

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Yoyotte, *REgypt* 34, 1982/3, 129–36; Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 110.

¹⁵⁹ Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 110f. fig. 7.

¹⁶⁰ *Naukratis* I, 24; not drawn in pl. 42. Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 102f., but he does not come back to this point when considering the missing temple.

¹⁶¹ Cf. von Bissing, 63.

¹⁶² *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 26 with pl. 2.

¹⁶³ *JHS* 25, 1905, 110f.

¹⁶⁴ *JHS* 25, 1905, 112.

¹⁶⁵ *JFA* 6, 1979, 154; cf. Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 106f.

abandoned at the end of the nineteenth century. Brickwork was still visible on the southern and south-western side of the mound. If Petrie's plan is correct, then the mound discovered here must contain parts of the building of chambers and passageways which he had described and which supposedly lay in the south of the temenos.¹⁶⁶ However, he stated that he had completely excavated it, something incompatible with the present state. This leads to the conclusion either that Petrie did not completely excavate the building or else that the mound in fact represents remnants of the temenos wall.

In 1980, excavation was undertaken in the area of the South Mound, namely in areas 1 and 2 west of what remains of the mound.¹⁶⁷ The work yielded only Ptolemaic ware, mostly of local origin, from the third and second centuries BC. The following year saw excavation in several other places. Areas 12 and 15¹⁶⁸ in turn produced only Ptolemaic masonry dated by pottery, although the present ground-water level prevented an uncovering of the foundations. Areas 491, 492, and 502¹⁶⁹ likewise yielded only finds from the Ptolemaic period, confirmed in this case by a coin of Ptolemy III. The same applied to Areas 315 and 316, where Ptolemaic items of various dates were found.¹⁷⁰

The doubts voiced by Hogarth¹⁷¹ regarding the accuracy of Petrie's descriptions hardened following the 1981 season. The modern cemetery, which Petrie had claimed to have had moved at his own expense,¹⁷² was still in existence, in the form of empty burial plots or even intact graves underneath them.¹⁷³ Not only was it impossible to find masonry of the thickness cited by Petrie; the location of the walls also did not accord with his record.

Core drillings were carried out in 1982, with the intention of obtaining samples from below the ground-water level. The core from drill site C in area 316¹⁷⁴ contained sherds and 'microsherds' of the same type of Ptolemaic pottery as that found in the rest of the Great Temenos. The pottery inclusions vanished at sea-level, where greyish, silty mud was found, becoming sandier and coarser below sea-level. This muddy coarse sand is seen as an indication of a large quantity of flowing water, suggesting

¹⁶⁶ *Naukratis* I, 24 f. pl. 43; cf. *JFA* 6, 1979, 154 for problems of equating Petrie's report with today's situation.

¹⁶⁷ *Muse* 15, 1981, 33-45; *AJA* 86, 1982, 367-71; *JARCE* 19, 1982, 74-6 with figs. 2-3.

¹⁶⁸ *Muse* 15, 1981, 41 f.; *AJA* 86, 1982, 368 f. with figs. 6-7.

¹⁶⁹ *Muse* 15, 1981, 42 ff.; *AJA* 86, 1982, 370 f. with fig. 8, 375 no. 1, pl. 48.11-12 for coin.

¹⁷⁰ *Muse* 15, 1981, 42 ff.

¹⁷¹ *JHS* 25, 1905, 111 f.

¹⁷² *Naukratis* I, 34.

¹⁷³ *JARCE* 19, 1982, 74 f.

¹⁷⁴ *JARCE* 19, 1982, 75 with fig. 5.

that the Canobic branch of the Nile or some other considerable branch once flowed here in pre-Ptolemaic times.

All the indications lead to the conclusion that the 'Great Mound' or 'high temple', like the entrance building, was constructed in the Ptolemaic period,¹⁷⁵ since recent excavations in this area have brought to light only pottery from Ptolemaic times and later. It is quite possible that Hogarth's so-called Egyptian material originates from the Ptolemaic period. The most convincing argument, however, is to be seen in the finds from core drilling which shows that a branch of the Nile must have flowed here in the vicinity of the Great Temenos in pre-Ptolemaic times. The absence of further datable finds between the muddy coarse-sand deposit and the Ptolemaic pottery leads to the conclusion that the Canobic branch of the Nile also flowed here in the Archaic period. More definite information can perhaps be expected from the publication of the excavation results from areas 66 and 88 in the vicinity of the South Mound.¹⁷⁶

h. The faience workshop

Petrie¹⁷⁷ found the remains of a faience workshop opposite the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, in the south-west area of the *empóron* (Figure 1). They comprised the remnants of a bed of earth, the yellowish colouring of which Petrie attributed to the decomposition of discarded material, together with innumerable faience scarabs and corresponding moulds. Raw material, in the form of lumps of blue,¹⁷⁸ greenish-blue, green and yellowish-green frit, chemically related to faience, could also be recovered. A whetstone and copper slag were detected among the finds. Petrie¹⁷⁹ considered these to be the remains of a further workshop, one producing metal tools; however, they are in fact direct evidence of faience production, since both copper and sharp knives were required, the one for colouring the glaze, the other for incising the motifs.

Faience is one of man's earliest synthetic materials, and was first manufactured in Predynastic Egypt. The term 'faience' may be misleading,

¹⁷⁵ Petrie, *Naukratis* I, 33, assumed it to have been erected in pre-Ptolemaic times, basing his view on restoration work probably effected by Ptolemy II. Von Bissing's comparisons (pp. 59f.) point to a date not before the Ethiopian period, although earlier (*F&F* 25, 1949, 2) he had suggested construction in the Ptolemaic period. W. D. E. Coulson was so kind as to confirm the Ptolemaic date in a letter and in an enclosed manuscript, later published as *Horos* 8/9, 1990/1, 219-30. Muhs, *JARCE* 31, 1994, 104, supports the same dating.

¹⁷⁶ *AJA* 86, 1982, 375; however, in *Muse* 15, 1981, 42, we are told that the excavations in this area were prohibited midway through the season after protests from the local villagers.

¹⁷⁷ *Naukratis* I, 36.

¹⁷⁸ A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ (1962), 34off.

¹⁷⁹ *Naukratis* I, 38.

Egyptian faience having little in common with the Renaissance pottery coated with a tin glaze—Majolica—or with Delft pottery. Nor are we concerned here with ‘porcelain’ or ‘glazed pottery’, as Petrie¹⁸⁰ characterized the Egyptian faience objects.

Egyptian faience¹⁸¹ consists of a core coated with an alkaline glaze. Quartz, ground to a powder, is mixed with salt and heated in a mould. This heating process causes the quartz crystals to melt, forming the relatively hard—if crumbly—core. It is generally white, sometimes with a brown, grey or yellow tinge, even light-blue or green. The glaze consists of the same chemical compounds as glass (sodium calcium silicate or potassium calcium silicate, without the addition of lead). The bluish, greenish, or greenish-blue colouring is achieved by adding copper. Since the constituent elements required in the production of glass and faience are basically the same, workshops for the two were usually in the immediate neighbourhood of each other in Egypt.

The moulds found by Petrie¹⁸² in Naukratis differ from those otherwise found in Egypt in that they have no ducts at the side for the outflow of surplus material. Petrie’s conclusion was that the Naukratis faience scarabs were not produced using moulds on each side but that the mass was pressed into the half-form, the projecting residue being cut off with a knife. After the mass had hardened, the motifs were incised into the underside, before the whole was fired and glazed.

Petrie counted 678 different moulds for the production of scarabs, heads, busts, discs, cones, crouching lions and lion heads, decorated on the underside with Egyptianizing motifs. The finds also embrace the moulds of purely Egyptian amulet types such as Horus eyes and Bes figures.¹⁸³ In addition to the various types of seal, mention is also made of the remains of so-called ‘pilgrim bottles’, small panels inlaid with glaze, and small bowls of blue frit, prompting the conclusion that vessels and similar objects were also made in Naukratis.

With regard to the date of this workshop, the pottery that was also found enables us to draw at least a tentative conclusion, one confirmed by the dating of the faience objects and scarabs. Petrie¹⁸⁴ mentions middle Corinthian pottery (S.2), MWG (T), Chian Wild Goat style (F.1, F.2), the inside of Chian chalices (F.5), eye-bowls (G.2), figure vases (C.2) with brown dots, Fikellura ware (B.3, C.4, D.4), black-glazed ware (N)—perhaps Laconian and Attic (K.1)—and Ionian bowls (L.1). This would all

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Lucas and Harris, op.cit. 156 ff.; Webb, 2 ff.

¹⁸² *Naukratis* I, 37 pl. 38.

¹⁸³ *Naukratis* I, pl. 38.

¹⁸⁴ *Naukratis* I, 22.

point to the production of Egyptian faience in Naukratis from the late seventh century into the second half of the sixth century.

i. Naukratis' situation on the Canobic branch of the Nile

The discussion as to the bank of the Canobic branch of the Nile on which Naukratis may have lain is as old as the discovery of Naukratis itself (Figure 1).¹⁸⁵ Petrie¹⁸⁶ read Herodotus 2. 97 as indicating that Naukratis was on the east bank of a canal branching off from the Canobic arm. However, no-one else has adopted this idea.

Proponents of the thesis that Naukratis lay to the west of the Canobic branch¹⁸⁷ base their argument upon Ptolemaeus the geographer and the Tabula Peutingeriana. Ptolemaeus *Geographia* 4. 5. 49 describes Naukratis as lying to the west of 'the Great River'. It can be made out on the Tabula Peutingeriana, situated on a route west of the Canobic branch which runs into the direction of the Libyan desert.¹⁸⁸ However, too much reliance should not be placed on the accuracy of this map.¹⁸⁹

Better evidence is available to support the theory that Naukratis lay to the east of the Canobic branch. Strabo 17. 1. 23 (C803) describes it as to the left of the river and situated in the Delta; since his description of the Delta begins at the coast, Naukratis must have lain on the east bank.¹⁹⁰

The most valuable contribution to the debate comes from the interpretation by Edgar of a third-century BC papyrus,¹⁹¹ from which it emerges that travellers between Hermoupolis and Naukratis crossed the river once. Since Hermoupolis is located on the west bank of the Canobic branch of the Nile, Naukratis must have lain on the east side. This is further confirmed by its belonging to the Saite nomos, something as deduced from the 'Revenue Laws'.¹⁹² The river constituted the boundaries between the nomoi, prompting a localization of Naukratis on the same side as Sais, namely the eastern one.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Bernard i 3, 618–23; C. Sevilla Cueva, in *Homenaje a José M^a Blázquez* (1993), 3f. for discussion.

¹⁸⁶ *Naukratis* I, 2.

¹⁸⁷ Prinz, 7; Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 126ff.; Hogarth, *JHS* 25, 1905, 105f., 122f., arrives by different arguments at the same conclusion.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. *Naukratis* I, pl. 39.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Griffith, in *Naukratis* II, 83.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. von Bissing, 30f.; Griffith, in *Naukratis* II, 84; Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (p. 222).

¹⁹¹ *Papyri Greci e Latini* (P.S.I.) v, no. 543. Cf. C. C. Edgar, *ASAE* 22, 1922, 3; Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (p. 222).

¹⁹² J. Bingen, 'Papyrus Revenue Laws', *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten Beiheft* 1 (1952) 24 Col. 60 line 18.

¹⁹³ Cf. Edgar, *ASAE* 22, 1922, 2; Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (p. 222).

If one assumes Naukratis to have lain to the east of the branch of the Nile, then the reason behind the position of the Ptolemaic entrance building to the Great Temenos also becomes apparent, since it will have opened towards the west, in the direction of the Nile,¹⁹⁴ as was common for Egyptian temples.

The recent excavations have yielded two further arguments for a location east of the branch of the Nile. During their 1979 survey, Coulson and Leonard¹⁹⁵ noticed that the west bank of the lake that covers Naukratis today was softer than the east bank. This confirms the observations made by Petrie,¹⁹⁶ who discovered black, foul-smelling mud to the west of the Sanctuary of Apollo at the boundary of the settlement. This he considered the remains of what he postulated to be a canal, although it could be an indication that the branch of the Nile had flowed here in former times.¹⁹⁷ The results of the core drilling carried out in the area of the Great Temenos¹⁹⁸ reveal that the branch of the Nile probably flowed past Naukratis in a north-westerly direction, through the southern area of the Great Temenos (Figure 1).

k. The overall layout of the empóron

If one examines Petrie's map of Naukratis,¹⁹⁹ one receives the impression that he had excavated the remains of houses and streets. However, a comparison of the plan with his observations²⁰⁰ gives rise to doubt as to what he in fact can have found. Those finds labelled 'found in town' by Petrie come from excavations by Arabs. Petrie bought them from the Arabs, resulting in their true provenance being irretrievable. Gardner²⁰¹ transferred Petrie's streets only sketchily into his map; his attempts to excavate some houses in the area of the town were unsuccessful. In any case, the houses were built of mud bricks, the old buildings furnishing the foundations for the new ones. Those few finds that Gardner made point to the Ptolemaic-Roman period.

For an overall view of the *empóron*'s layout, one is best advised to follow the new plan by Coulson and Leonard,²⁰² in which the locations of the sanctuaries, the lake covering Naukratis, and the present-day roads are all

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Griffith, in *Naukratis* II, 84; Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (p. 222).

¹⁹⁵ *JFA* 6, 1979, 154.

¹⁹⁶ *Naukratis* I, 10.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (p. 222).

¹⁹⁸ *JARCE* 19, 1982, 75 with fig. 5; see Figure 1 drill site C.

¹⁹⁹ *Naukratis* I, pl. 41; cf. von Bissing, 49f.

²⁰⁰ *Naukratis* I, 35.

²⁰¹ *Naukratis* II, 16 pl. 4.

²⁰² *JARCE* 19, 1982, 92 fig. 5. My Fig. 1 is based on their map.

entered. The result is a northern area, containing the Sanctuaries of the Dioskouroi, Apollo, and Hera, together with the Hellenion, and a southern area, with the temenos of Aphrodite, the faience workshop, and the Ptolemaic Great Temenos.

The southern part of Naukratis has often been seen as the Egyptian quarter around the Great Temenos, the latter being considered an Egyptian fort.²⁰³ This is based upon the false assumption made by Hogarth²⁰⁴ that no Greek pottery had been found in the 0.30–0.60 m.-thick burnt stratum extending to the east of the Temple of Aphrodite in a southeasterly direction into the area of the Great Temenos (Figure 1).²⁰⁵ Hogarth²⁰⁶ was convinced that only Egyptian pottery had been found in this area. This impression is likely to be due to a distortion of the overall picture, caused by Arabs collecting the more valuable sherds.²⁰⁷ It could also be that Hogarth characterized local sherds from the post-Classical periods as Egyptian.

It is generally difficult to evaluate a burnt stratum where it is not connected with a particular event. If Petrie's account²⁰⁸ of the burnt stratum is closely examined, however, it emerges that this was the earliest layer, 0.60 m. (2 ft.) under the layer in which the scarabs and the faience workshop were found.²⁰⁹ Petrie also mentions Greek pottery discovered in this burnt stratum²¹⁰—a Chian amphora from the late seventh century BC;²¹¹ further Chian amphorae, described as with a white slip and red lines; and a vase which—according to his description—would appear to be a black-glazed krater or amphora, but at any rate Greek. While Petrie may not have explicitly identified this pottery as Greek, it was his opinion that everything found in this stratum was purely Greek, and that no traces of Egyptian remains existed here.²¹²

The layer above²¹³ yielded a spherical Corinthian aryballos (EC or MC),

²⁰³ Cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 43ff.; *JHS* 25, 1905, 106ff.; Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (p. 223); Haider, 186–90 discusses the burnt stratum at length; however, he takes it as evidence for an older Egyptian settlement. Cf. von Bissing's discussion, 35–8, 49.

²⁰⁴ *JHS* 25, 1905, 107.

²⁰⁵ *Naukratis* I, 21; cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 107.

²⁰⁶ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 43; cf. coarse ware in *JHS* 25, 1905, 123–6.

²⁰⁷ Von Bissing, 49.

²⁰⁸ *Naukratis* I, 21f.

²⁰⁹ *Naukratis* I, 5.

²¹⁰ *Naukratis* I, 21.

²¹¹ *Naukratis* I, pl. 16.4; cf. J. K. Anderson, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 169; von Bissing, 36f. fig. 1 recognized it as being Greek, but dated it to the 6th c. BC.

²¹² Cf. *Naukratis* II, 72, quoting Petrie in *The Academy* from 16 July, 1887. Already Prinz, 13, regarded the pottery as Greek and implied a Greek settlement. Today, we can no longer evaluate whether Egyptian finds were indeed made or not.

²¹³ *Naukratis* I, 21f.

bird bowls or related (G.1), Ionian bowls (L.1), Wild Goat-style vases (lion and stag), and Fikellura ware (C.4). We also hear of a bf kylix found in this layer or a few inches above, apparently with a depiction of Odysseus hanging under the ram²¹⁴ (Plate 1a). Hogarth²¹⁵ also cites early Chian pottery, which occurred mixed together with faience articles.

Even if the layers above the burnt stratum can only be dated very roughly to around 600 BC and after, it is still evident that the burnt stratum represents the earliest layer in Naukratis, and that its purely Greek character excludes the possibility of an Egyptian settlement on the site prior to the Greek one.²¹⁶ This area would appear to be the heart of the *empóron*, for three reasons: the Temple of Aphrodite is the oldest Greek temenos in Naukratis; this is the oldest layer; and the Canobic branch of the Nile would seem to have flowed past nearby.

Could it be possible that the burnt stratum, consisting of small pieces of charcoal and ash²¹⁷ such as could only have been left behind by a great quantity of wood, originated from Greek ships which, hauled on to dry land, went up in flames during some catastrophe? Perhaps they were even carrying a cargo of timber? It is unlikely that the burnt stratum was caused by a settlement, houses generally being built of mud brick in Egypt, a land where wood was in scarce supply.

In excavating Naukratis, Petrie²¹⁸ assumed that it would have public buildings, such as a gymnasium, a palaistra—which he believed he had discovered in the Temenos of Hera—a stoa and an *agora*, like every normal polis. He believed the *agora* was probably replaced by the Hellenion (his Great Temenos). Much speculation has been made regarding an *agora* in Naukratis,²¹⁹ but most of it is connected with a misunderstanding of the term *empóron*.

It emerges from a survey of Naukratis' topography that there were no signs in this *empóron* of public buildings such as would have been expected in a Greek polis. Archaic Naukratis comprised an accumulation of sanctuaries, of which the Hellenion must be considered the most important, and a faience workshop, which was fortunately excavated, although other workshops—such as a Chian pottery workshop, which may have existed—were not discovered. Naukratis was a purely Greek *empóron*, the

²¹⁴ London BM B407 (Walters, *Cat. of Greek and Etruscan Vases* ii (1893), 220; CVA (2) iii He pl. 12.2).

²¹⁵ *JHS* 25, 1905, 107.

²¹⁶ Cf. Mallet, *Le premiers établissements des Grecs en Egypte* (1893), 157f., 172, who regards the burnt stratum as a residue of the Milesian trading-post which is said to have been the forerunner of Naukratis.

²¹⁷ *Naukratis* I, 21.

²¹⁸ *Naukratis* I, 35.

²¹⁹ Cf. Bernand I 3, 862f.; Prinz, 5f.; Martin, 245f.

assumption of an Egyptian quarter being based on misinterpretation. The Great Temenos was not built until the Ptolemaic period, by which time the course of the Canobic branch of the Nile had altered. It is possible that the remains of houses and streets found by Petrie and Gardner can only be traced back to the Ptolemaic or later periods, when Naukratis was perhaps experiencing a revival and the former *emporion* was no longer distinguishable from a polis.

4. FINDS FROM NAUKRATIS

a. Pottery

Pottery is of central importance in every excavation on account of its generally large-scale occurrence and the ease with which much of it may be dated. The first excavation campaigns in Naukratis attracted great interest towards the end of the nineteenth century, not least because of the discovery of several thousand Archaic sherds. Many were of hitherto unknown styles, such as white-slip pottery from Chios, called 'Naukratite' owing to its previously unexplained origins, and the bird bowls with their derivatives. The origins of many styles found in Naukratis posed a great problem at the time; even today, it has not been completely solved.

The potter's craft flourished in many centres along the coast of Asia Minor in the Archaic period, bringing forth a multitude of local styles. At first, however, many of these styles were found only in colonies and *emporia* such as Naukratis, the home cities in eastern Greece largely remaining unexcavated until a much later period; accordingly, the impression arose that such pottery had been produced overseas, the styles therefore being given such labels as 'Naukratite' or 'Cyrenean'.²²⁰

It would appear advisable to concentrate first upon a determination of styles, before attempting their allocation to production centres. For this reason, the following chapter will be divided according to styles, the names of which have been pragmatically chosen following scholarly custom.²²¹ Such a traditional analysis of styles will facilitate a distinguishing of groups and the establishment of a relative chronology. Once this has been effected, we can turn to the question of the production centres; further excavation in East Greece may help us to illuminate our picture, and the chemical

²²⁰ Cf. Cook, *GPP*, 309–15, for East Greek styles; B. Ginge, in *Pottery* II, 201–10 for possible production overseas of 'Tyrrhenian' and other West Greek styles.

²²¹ E. Walter-Karydi in *Milet*, 1986, 75, emphasizes her *stilkritischen* approach in *Samos* vi 1. Since she takes the *Kunstlandschaften* for granted and as her starting-point, however, she is too quick in ascribing the different styles to local production centres without enquiring further into the stylistic groups.

analyses carried out by Dupont²²² and Jones²²³ have already considerably contributed.

In the course of these investigations, chemical and petrological analysis was conducted of groups placed together for stylistic reasons or because of some assumed common centre of production. Ideally, the samples were taken from (i) local clay-beds, although reservations exist as to their reliability, (ii) classical kilns and wasters, insofar as these are known—i.e. have been excavated—in East Greece, (iii) settlement pottery, where available. Otherwise, the analysis groupings were based on criteria of similar style.

In the chemical procedure, a number of oxides were determined in each analysis and the results evaluated by cluster-analysis. The weaknesses of such an analysis lie first of all in the selection of the oxides, something which can never be wholly objective, and secondly in the statistical evaluation, which is often based upon too small a number of samples. It can generally be said of the results emerging from the investigations by Dupont and Jones that useful results were only obtained where the group under examination had been stylistically delimited as far as possible beforehand.²²⁴ This is one reason why I regard stylistic analysis as fundamental for a determination of local production centres.

Corinthian pottery

Corinthian pottery may be considered the most widespread variety of the Archaic period. Thanks to its frequency and schematism—characteristics indicating the first example of ‘mass production’²²⁵—together with the resulting identifiability of its stylistic and formal development,²²⁶ Corinthian pottery is also regarded as the most important style of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, the absolute dating of other vase styles being based on Corinthian chronology.

And yet its own absolute chronology is not undisputed.²²⁷ I will follow

²²² P. Dupont, *RArchéom* 1, 1977, 105–14; id. in *CGED* 290–7; id. *Dacia* n.s. 27, 1983, 19–43; id. in *Milet*, 1986, 57–71.

²²³ R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery*, BSA Fitch Laboratory Occasional Papers 1 (1986).

²²⁴ Cf. J. Boardman, in *CGED* 287; P. Zaphiropoulou, in *Les Cyclades* (1983), 183; Jones, 1986, 667, for the non-uniform group ‘Ionian B’, where no informative cluster of oxides is discernable. T. van Compernelle, in *First European Workshop on Archaeological Ceramics* (1994), 343–8, describes the difficulties in using archaeometrical data obtained by differing analytical criteria.

²²⁵ Cf. J. L. Benson in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 3 (1985), 17; more critical, W. R. Biers, *Hesperia* 63, 1994, 514f.

²²⁶ For example, the shape of the aryballos functions as a kind of index fossil in stratigraphy.

²²⁷ The attempts by M. Vickers, *NC* 145, 1985, 18f.; E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, *Levant* 17, 1985, 137; D. W. J. Gill, in I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece* (1994), 107, to downdate Greek pottery on grounds—among others—of Herodotus’ account of Naukratis are bound to fail in this point, since it is not at all certain that Herodotus’ words should be interpreted to mean that Amasis founded Naukratis

the dating of Payne²²⁸ and Cook.²²⁹ Walter-Karydi suggests a downdating by 25 years, although I do not think that this can be maintained.²³⁰ Among other things, she refers to a bowl,²³¹ found together with early Corinthian sherds in the lowest layers of Deposit 1 in Tocra. The sherds contained in Deposit 1 were mainly early Corinthian, with but a few pieces of the Transitional style. Since Tocra was probably founded by Cyrene,²³² the sherds could have been deposited shortly after 631. However, I consider the conventional dating of the early Corinthian pottery to 625–600 BC more convincing, in the light of the fact that the early Corinthian sherds were in the bottom layers.

Communis opinio sees the black-figure technique as having been invented in Corinth at the start of the Middle Protocorinthian period (MPC: c.690–650 BC).²³³ The Late Protocorinthian phase lasted for only a short time (LPC: 650–640/35 BC).²³⁴ A polychrome figure style of considerable quality, reaching its climax in the Chigi olpe, developed alongside the customary Protocorinthian animal frieze style. A simplification of working methods occurred now and then during the so-called Transitional style (c.640/35–625/20 BC),²³⁵ such as enlargement and lengthening of the animals, standardization of the rosettes with the abandonment of the stalk, and the drawing of scalloped patterns by means of compasses. This made it possible to produce more vases in less time, ultimately resulting in a form of ‘mass production’.²³⁶

The spread of Corinthian vases reached its peak in the course of the Early Corinthian phase (EC: c.625–600 BC).²³⁷ The blob rosette with incisions now dominated the field. The old Hittite lion was replaced by the Assyrian one with its cross-hatched mane.

(cf. VI.3, below). J. C. Waldbaum and J. Magness, *AJA* 101, 1997, 23–40, have Levantine evidence supporting the traditional chronology. See also Amyx, 397–434 for a comprehensive discussion of the different attempts to date Corinthian pottery; on the dating of globular to ovoid aryballoi see C. W. Neef, *Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballoi*, Allard Pierson Series, 7 (1987), 363–80.

²²⁸ Payne, *NC*; incidentally, Payne, *NC* 25, considered Naukratis as relevant for chronology, while conceding its doubtful absolute dating. Cf. R. J. Hopper, *ABSA* 44, 1949, 162–257.

²²⁹ Cook, *GPP*, 46–62; cf. id., *ABSA* 64, 1969, 13–15.

²³⁰ *Samos* vi 1, 96–8; cf. A. Furtwängler, *Samos* iii (1989), 72 n. 260.

²³¹ ‘Tocra’ i, 49 no. 614 fig. 24 pl. 33; *Samos* vi 1, no. 565.

²³² Schol. Pind. *P.* 4. 26; Hdt. 4. 171 is probably wrong as Barke, which according to Herodotus is said to have founded Taucheira, was only settled after 570 BC under Arkesilas II (cf. Hdt. 4. 160); cf. ‘Tocra’ i, 13 ff.

²³³ Payne, *NC*, 7; Cook, *GPP*, 48; cf. J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (1986) 1.

²³⁴ Payne, *NC*, 16.

²³⁵ Named by Payne, *NC*, 16.

²³⁶ Cf. Cook, *GPP*, 53, but see above.

²³⁷ Cook, *GPP*, 55 ff.; Payne, *NC*, 55 ff., based his absolute dating on grave contexts; R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 64, 1969, 15, gives 630/20–605/595 BC, admitting only a ten-year margin.

The animal-frieze style declined during the Middle Corinthian phase (MC: c.600–575 BC),²³⁸ figures becoming clumsier and the repertoire smaller. A red-ground style developed, its origins perhaps to be seen in the influence of Attic pottery. In the Late Corinthian phase (LC: c.575–550 BC),²³⁹ figure painters turned their attention almost exclusively to the portrayal of humans, although a few scattered examples of the animal-frieze style have been discovered. The topics centred around banquet scenes, battles, and mythological images.

No Protocorinthian pottery has been found in Naukratis,²⁴⁰ and the Early Corinthian style is also poorly represented, despite this phase of Corinthian ware being more widespread than any other. However, Payne²⁴¹ assigns the fragment of a bowl in Boston to the Transitional style. His catalogue places a question mark against the claim that it was discovered in the Temenos of Aphrodite; if this were in fact the case, then it would represent further confirmation of the sanctuary's great age. Most of the preserved Corinthian ware from Naukratis is of Middle and Late Corinthian; the commonest form is the column krater.

Athenian pottery

Examples of vases in the early black-figure style²⁴² appeared in Naukratis soon after the introduction of the bf technique in Athens around 630 BC. In addition to the fragment by the Nettos Painter, some examples of Early Olpai can also be dated to the last two decades of the seventh century.²⁴³ Pieces by the Gorgon Painter, his pupil Sophilos, the Kerameikos Painter, and the Polos Painter were brought to Naukratis at the beginning of the sixth century. A considerable number of fragments may be ascribed to painters of the Komast Group. From the second half of the sixth century come pieces by the Amasis Painter,²⁴⁴ as well as the 'Affecter' and 'Elbows out'. Attic black-glazed cups decorated with inscriptions have also been found, especially in the Hellenion.²⁴⁵

²³⁸ Cook, *GPP*, 58; J. L. Benson, *Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen* (1953), 72f. 78, emphasizes the *reifarchaischen* character of MC, which is represented best in its figure style.

²³⁹ Payne, *NC*, 58ff.; Cook, *GPP*, 58; Benson, *op.cit.*, 82, distinguishes a LC transitional style (575–560 BC), while he calls the period after 560 BC *spätkorinthisch-reif*.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Appendix 1.a., Petrie's class R.1 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80), R.2 and S.2 (*pace* Gjerstad, *ibid.*, who considers it to be Laconian bf).

²⁴¹ Boston 09.210 (Boardman, *GO*³, 121 fig. 138; Payne, *NC*, 340, points to the fact that this sherd was not given by the EEF and therefore it might not have been found at Naukratis at all; cf. Fairbanks, no. 340).

²⁴² J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*² (1986), 11.

²⁴³ Petrie's class K.2 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80) or 'incised oinochoe'. cf. Appendix 1.b.; for this paragraph generally M. S. Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 141–54.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Petrie's class K.3; more Athenian vases perhaps M.1 and M.2.

²⁴⁵ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 55 nos. 61–80; cf. 'Tocra' i, 119 n. 4 (types III and IV). For more see D. W. J.

Upon examining the vase shapes occurring in Naukratis, one is struck by the number of drinking vessels. Beazley and Payne²⁴⁶ noted in 1929 that the number of Athenian bf kantharoi was particularly high. They believed these to have replaced the Chian chalices; however, the latter occur extensively alongside the Attic cups,²⁴⁷ and will presumably have greatly surpassed them in number.

It has been observed that a large proportion of early Athenian bf pottery found outside Attica went to Naukratis or elsewhere in Egypt. Of the vases exported from Attica, two-thirds of those by the Gorgon Painter and his circle, almost all of those from the Kerameikos Painter and his workshop, and almost half of the Early Olpai found overseas were discovered in Egypt.²⁴⁸ Not until near the mid-sixth century can Athenian vases be found in great number all over the Greek world. Therefore, Venit,²⁴⁹ in drawing her conclusions about the great quantity of Athenian pottery in Egypt, assumes that the Athenians, seeing their 'export market' in Naukratis, themselves transported their vases to the *emporion*. This is highly unlikely, however, since there is evidence neither for active seafaring on the part of the Athenians around 600 BC, nor of any particular involvement on their part in Naukratis. On the other hand, one could imagine the Aeginetans carrying both Athenian and Corinthian ware to Naukratis, especially since they produced no fine pottery to speak of.²⁵⁰

The first Athenian rf vases in Naukratis may be dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC. It has generally been assumed, on the basis of considerable interruptions in the material found, that the Greeks did not engage in trade in Egypt to the same extent after the Persian invasion of that country (525 BC) as they had done before.²⁵¹ To be sure, the quantity of vase fragments from the last quarter of the sixth century onwards is considerably reduced, but the number of Athenian rf vases is not to be explained by the assumption that they were not transported to Egypt until the fifth century. It must also be taken into consideration that East Greek pottery—comprising the majority of that found in Naukratis—was hardly

Gill, 'Attic Black-Glazed Pottery in the Fifth Century B.C.: Workshops and Export', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1986), who has 8 pieces from Naukratis in his catalogue; Venit, *Naukratis*, 112 no. 396 pl. 82: 4th c. BC, no. 397 pl. 83: ?470–60 BC; Toronto 910.143.24 (Hayes no. 68: 425–375 BC); Dublin V 4047 (Ex-Ashmolean G 141.7) black-glazed bowl type C (*JHS* 25, 1905, 116 fig. 2 no. 25; *JHS* 91, 1971, 118 no. 19 pl. 14s: 5th c.); Appendix 1.b.

²⁴⁶ Beazley and Payne, 258, under no. 14.

²⁴⁷ Cf. M. S. Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 394.

²⁴⁸ Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 144 ff.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 153 f.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 125; Figueira, 232 f.

²⁵¹ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 125, 132.

being produced any more at the time in question. This all points to the conclusion that the 'port of trade' continued to exist under Persian rule.

Laconian pottery

Only a few pieces of the fine pottery from Laconia were found.²⁵² A sub-Geometric and early orientalizing phase (the so-called Transitional phase: c.690–650 BC)²⁵³ developed around 650 BC into the pottery style of the actual orientalizing phase—Laconian I—with the inner details of the figures in reserved style and employing little ornament. The most frequent shape is that of a flat bowl with a low ring-shaped foot and a large, offset lip. The Laconian II phase (c.620–580 BC),²⁵⁴ while continuing to use animals in reserved style, adopted the black-figure technique.

The most important phase for us is Laconian III (c.580–550 BC), formerly called the Cyrenean style.²⁵⁵ It is here that Laconian vase-painting reached its peak, and was transported far and wide, including to Naukratis.²⁵⁶ Various scholars have attempted an identification of individual painters. Shefton²⁵⁷ distinguished only three major painters: the Arkesilas Painter,²⁵⁸ the Naukratis Painter,²⁵⁹ and the Hunt Painter.²⁶⁰ Stibbe believes that he can differentiate between five major and nine lesser painters. The consequence of his differentiation between the Boreads Painter (c.575–565 BC) and the Arkesilas Painter (c.565–555 BC) would be to allocate all of the pieces found in Naukratis to the older of the two, the Boreads Painter. Stibbe sees significant stylistic differences between the two hands, despite the evident influence of the older upon the younger.

²⁵² Stibbe's catalogue contains 360 numbers for the 6th c. BC. Cf. Appendix 1.c, and Venit, *Naukratis*, 113–16 nos. 398–404 pls. 83–5.

²⁵³ Cook, *GPP*, 93–100; cf. J. Boardman, *ABSA* 58, 1963, 1–4.

²⁵⁴ Cf. E. A. Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 180 pl. 31c (earliest Laconian sherd from Naukratis belonging to his Laconian II (c.630–590 BC), today in London BM); cf. Oxford G 133.7 (*RA* 1907, 39 fig. 21, 57 no. 65; Venit, *Naukratis*, 113 n. 2: 615–570 BC, perhaps earlier). The division between Laconian II and III is problematic; cf. Boardman, *ABSA* 58, 1963, 1ff.; I. Margreiter, *Frühe lakonische Keramik der geometrischen bis archaischen Zeit* (10. bis 6. Jh. v. Chr.) (1988), 84 with n. 277.

²⁵⁵ Cf. *Naukratis* I, 53; *Naukratis* II, 27, 43f., 51f.; Prinz, 64–7; J. P. Droop, *ABSA* 14, 1907/8, 44 could show that the so-called Cyrenean was produced in Laconia and therefore would be better described as Laconian. He distinguished six periods of development; apart from their absolute dating, they are still valid today. Cf. Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 182–5, for the 'Cyrenean heresy'.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Petrie's class L.3; *Naukratis* I, pls. 8–9.

²⁵⁷ B. Shefton, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 299–310.

²⁵⁸ Name piece: Paris Cab. Méd. 189 from Vulci (Boardman, *GO*, 149 fig. 185; Shefton, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 301 no. 16; Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 140 no. 1; Stibbe, 115ff., 279 no. 194 pls. 61f.).

²⁵⁹ Name piece: London BM B4 (*Naukratis* I, pls. 8f.; Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 139 no. 1 below; Shefton, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 303 no. 3; Stibbe, 211f., 270 no. 23 pl. 12.1).

²⁶⁰ Name pieces: Paris Louvre E670 (Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 141 no. 3; Shefton, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 306 no. 4; Stibbe, 138, 281 no. 220 pl. 78.1) and Leipzig T302 (Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 141 no. 4; Shefton, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 307 no. 14; Stibbe 139f., 282 no. 225 pl. 79.3).

Only two—debatable—pieces have been found in Naukratis of the Laconian IV phase (c.550–525 BC),²⁶¹ which experienced rapid decline. The first of these is attributed to the Hunt Painter, who was active into Laconian IV.

Black-glaze pottery continued to be produced despite the end of an independent bf school in Laconia with the decline of Laconian IV around 525 BC.²⁶² Stibbe²⁶³ believes that itinerant Laconian potters were working around 500 BC on the Lipari Islands and in Sicily. The volume of its occurrence in Naukratis is hard to estimate, since very little has been published.²⁶⁴

The most frequent vase shape is the kylix with high foot. The lip is typically decorated with a pomegranate pattern, the area around the handles displaying stylized lotus flowers between somewhat clumsy palmettes. The entire inner surface is decorated with figures; they normally stand on a baseline which sometimes divides the round into two halves.

Venit²⁶⁵ lists 34 Laconian sherds from Egypt in her catalogue. All but three originate from Naukratis; the modern art trade would appear to have cast a veil over the source of the rest. More than half of the sherds can be attributed to the Boreads Painter;²⁶⁶ of these, the most accurately datable ones were made between 570 and 565 BC. This short production phase and the great number of vases by one single painter perhaps indicate the arrival in Naukratis of a single cargo.²⁶⁷

Precisely who transported the Laconian vases to Naukratis remains an open question, however, since we hear of little involvement by the Spartans or their *perioikoi*²⁶⁸ in colonization or Mediterranean trade, with

²⁶¹ London BM B7.4.13, B7.4.14, B7.4.16 (Stibbe, 282 no. 253 pl. 87.1, puts it a little too early; M. S. Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 396 no. 30) and London BM B7.6 (Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 172 n. 7 pl. 38g; Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 396 no. 31).

²⁶² See M. Nafissi, 'Distribuzione della ceramica laconica', in *Studi sulla ceramica laconica (Atti di seminario 1981)* (1986), figs. 4, 6–7; C. M. Stibbe, *Laconian Mixing bowls. Laconian black-glazed pottery, pt. 1* (1989), 96 D 19, 98 E9, 99 E15, 101 E52, 103, 104, for six black-glazed kraters and id., *Laconian Drinking Vessels and Other Open Shapes. Laconian black-glazed pottery, pt. 2* (1994), 193 G48a, 203 H5, ?204 H6 for cups from Naukratis. P. Pelagatti, *BdA* suppl. 64: 2 (1992) has published material from Sicily and the Lipari Islands.

²⁶³ C. M. Stibbe, in *Pottery I*, 135–8, esp. 138.

²⁶⁴ But see Toronto 910x234.25 (Hayes, no. 10: 1st half of 6th c.), London BM 1888.6–1.649b (Johnston, no. 23); cf. Venit, *Naukratis*, 116 nos. 403–4 pl. 85; Petrie's class N which also contains *Naukratis I*, 22, the Phanes dinos (London BM 1886.4–1.677–678; *Naukratis I*, 18 pl. 33.218), said to be East Greek.

²⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.* nos. 8–25.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 393f.

²⁶⁷ R. M. Cook, *CQ* 12, 1962, 156, assumes the participation of *perioikoi* in craft and trade. R. T. Ridley, *Mnemosyne* 27, 1974, 281–92 discusses the possible economic activities of the *perioikoi*, cf. G. Berthiaume, *Mnemosyne* 29, 1976, 360–64 in response. See also P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia* (1979), 178–95 for activities of *perioikoi*.

²⁶⁸ Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 395ff.

the exception of Tarentum. If an answer is to be found, it seems advisable first to examine the other sites at which Laconian ware has been discovered. While not found around the Black Sea, it is encountered extensively in small quantities in the west, in the Aegean, and on Crete, and in larger quantities on Samos, in Cyrenaïca (Cyrene, Tocra), in Tarentum, and in Naukratis.

Large quantities of Laconian bf were found in the Sanctuary of Demeter in Cyrene,²⁶⁹ the majority of those pieces that are determinable being attributed to the Naukratis Painter, five to the Boreads Painter, and further pieces to a few other painters.²⁷⁰ Twenty Laconian bf fragments were discovered in Tocra,²⁷¹ ten of them by the Naukratis Painter and his workshop;²⁷² in contrast, none are by the Boreads Painter. A very different picture is presented by Naukratis itself, where fragments of eighteen vases by the Boreads Painter have been discovered, against only six to eight by the Naukratis Painter.²⁷³ This would seem to contradict the old theory of direct trade from Cyrene to Naukratis, something presumably based in part on the false attribution of Laconian pottery to Cyrene.²⁷⁴ Nor do the inscribed pieces²⁷⁵ allow one to identify the citizens of any one particular polis as carriers of Laconian ware.

We can certainly rule out any involvement by the Spartans or their *perioikoi* in Naukratis; this runs against the thesis advanced by Cook in 1959²⁷⁶ to the effect that the discovery of a considerable number of vases from a relatively small school represents evidence of direct trade. He qualified his argument for Laconian pottery himself in 1979,²⁷⁷ suggesting that ships sailing westwards or bound for Africa would have stopped off at points on the Laconian coast, taking on board some Laconian ware. This supposition is supported by the widespread but thin distribution.

Samos occupies a special position, Stibbe²⁷⁸ listing almost 120 pieces, the largest quantity of Laconian vases found in any one place. Given the close relations known to have existed between Samos and Sparta, on the one

²⁶⁹ G. P. Schaus, 'Archaic Greek Pottery from the Demeter Sanctuary, Cyrene 1969-1976: Minor Fabrics', Ph.D. thesis Pennsylvania (1978), 82-92; cf. *Cyrene* ii, 15-48.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Schaus, *op.cit.*, 82 ff.; *Cyrene* ii, 121 Appendix 2; Stibbe, 272 f. nos. 53, 73.

²⁷¹ 'Tocra' i, 81-7 nos. 932-50; 'Tocra' ii, 39 no. 950.

²⁷² Cf. Stibbe, 269 ff. nos. 1, 12, 20; workshop: nos. 60-3, 68-70.

²⁷³ Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 395 ff. nos. 1-6, ?7, ?32.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 182 ff.; C. Roebuck, *CP* 45, 1950, 242, 247 n. 72; Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 393 n. 27; G. P. Schaus, *Scripta Mediterranea* 1, 1980, 22; Austin, 63 f. n. 1.

²⁷⁵ Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 394 with n. 36, 395 f. nos. 2, 8, 28.

²⁷⁶ R. M. Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 123.

²⁷⁷ R. M. Cook, *JHS* 99, 1979, 154.

²⁷⁸ Stibbe's catalogue *passim*; cf. E. Diehl, *AA* 1964, 542-79.

hand,²⁷⁹ and Samos' involvement in Naukratis, on the other,²⁸⁰ it is more than possible that the Samians carried Laconian ware to Naukratis, an assumption further supported by the fact that those items of Laconian pottery found on Samos go back—as in the case of Naukratis—to the end of the seventh century BC.²⁸¹

Wild Goat style

The term 'Wild Goat style' was introduced by Cook²⁸² as a general stylistic term for orientalizing East Greek pottery decorated in reserved style. He thus succeeded in replacing the old 'Rhodian' and shifting the emphasis from the supposed place of origin to the style itself. This was first discovered on Rhodes in 1859, leading to the label 'Rhodian'. Kinch²⁸³ provided the first well-illustrated and detailed study of the Wild Goat style (*vases camiréens*), albeit one that today must be seen as imperfect and unsatisfactory. Schiering, following Rumpf,²⁸⁴ was opposed not only to the term 'Rhodian', since schools were already known to have existed in other places as well as Rhodes by this time, but also to that of 'Wild Goat style'. In advocating the employment of the term 'East Greek', he was effectively abandoning any division into *Kunstlandschaften*.²⁸⁵ Examining the style formerly called 'Rhodian', he divided it into three groups of workshops.²⁸⁶ Today, however, Schiering's groupings must be rejected, as must those—older—ones by Kinch, Price, and Boehlau.²⁸⁷

²⁷⁹ P. Cartledge, *CQ* 32, 1982, 243–65, esp. 252–6.

²⁸⁰ Hdt. 2. 178; cf. Austin, 13–14, 50f. n. 2, 51f. n. 1 for Egyptian finds in the Samian Heraion; W. M. Davis, *JEA* 67, 1981, 69–74; *Samos* vii, 113f. for Rhoikos bowl.

²⁸¹ Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 394; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 99, 1979, 154, only mentions Samian transport to the western Mediterranean, not to Naukratis. In Hdt. 4. 152 we find contact between Samos and Cyrene, where more than the usual amount of Laconian pottery was found. M. Nafissi in *Studi sulla ceramica laconica* (1986), 164f. considers the Samians as middlemen, but the Phocaeans could also have transported Laconian, as we find some in the West (Massalia, Velia); cf. id., in C. M. Stibbe, *Laconian Mixing Bowls. Laconian black-glazed pottery, pt. 1* (1989), 72–5.

²⁸² R. M. Cook, *JHS* 66, 1946, 93 n. 209; id., *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 2 with n. 1, used the old term 'Rhodian'. Cf. R. M. Cook, *Gnomon* 37, 1965, 502–7 for a review of C. Kardara.

²⁸³ *Vroulia*, 195–231.

²⁸⁴ W. Schiering, *Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos* (1957) 1, referring to Price, 192. A. Rumpf, *JDAI* 48, 1933, 61 n. 11, refusing 'Rhodian', 'Milesian', etc.

²⁸⁵ Cf. E. Walter-Karydi in *Milet*, 1986, 74.

²⁸⁶ Schiering, op.cit., 8–14: Kamiros group with stylistic periods A (660–630 BC), B (630–610 BC) and C (610–560 BC); Euphorbos group with stylistic periods A (650–635 BC), B (635–610 BC) and C (610–550 BC); Vlastos group with stylistic periods A (655–635 BC), B (635–615 BC) and C (615–550 BC); the groups are roughly parallel. R. M. Cook, *OJA* 11 (1992), 255, calls Rumpf and Schiering Independents in contrast to Evolutionists (Price; Cook, *GPP*; Kardara), who took the style admitting incision to be a development from the purely reserved style.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Price, 190ff., for older discussion; Kinch's *style sévère + libre* (197–221) = Price's Rhodian A = Boehlau's *Altmilesisch* (75ff.) = Prinz's *Milesisch* (15–39, esp. 30ff.) = Rumpf's *Kamiros-Gruppe* (69–75) =

The Early Wild Goat style (EWG: c.660–640 BC) developed from different local sub-Geometric and early orientalizing groups, not many examples of which are known.²⁸⁸ The Middle Wild Goat style is subdivided into two periods (MWG I: c.640–625 BC; MWG II: c.625–c.600 BC).²⁸⁹ The style becomes more disciplined in MWG I, and the typical filling ornaments (hanging triangles, rosettes, loops) appear. The repertoire becomes more stereotyped in MWG II, while the filling ornaments are skilfully distributed over the field. Some examples of MWG style have also been found in Naukratis.²⁹⁰

Shortly before 600 BC, the Late Wild Goat style (LWG: towards 600–c.570 BC) developed in northern Ionia.²⁹¹ It represented an imitation of the developed Corinthian bf style, and in particular its dense fauna and filling ornament. The upper frieze is now decorated in bf technique, while the rest continues to be executed in reserved style. This late phase is best known from *apoikiai* and *empória*.

It also becomes easier at this time to recognize local schools.²⁹² The most important was in Northern Ionia, presumably in Clazomenae and Teos;²⁹³

Schiering's *Frühorientalisierend* (8) and *Kamiro-Gruppe* (11) = Cook's Early + Middle Wild Goat (118–20) = 660–600 BC.

Kinch's *3ème période* (221–8) = Price's Rhodian B = Boehlau's *Spätmilesisch* (79ff.) = Rumpf's *Euphorbos-Gruppe* (75–82) = Schiering's *Euphorbos-* (11f.) + *Vlastos-Gruppe* (12ff.) = Cook's Late Wild Goat (120–3) = towards 600 to 570 BC.

²⁸⁸ Cook, *GPP*, 118; cf. *Histria* iv, 35f. for dating. Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 256 with n. 13, has collected examples of EWG which he describes as roughly equivalent to Kardara's 'Orientalising Rhodian Rhythm': *Samos* v, nos. 371, 377, 502, 510 from Samos; no. 492 certainly and nos. 501, 596, perhaps from Rhodes. *MDAI(I)* 21, 1971, pl. 36 from Miletus. He considers Miletus the likeliest home for EWG.

²⁸⁹ Cook, *GPP* 118ff. Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 256, lists examples for MWG I from the southern part of the East Greek region, Al Mina, South Russia, Crete, Metapontum, Etruria, ?Daskyleion and Old Smyrna. The Old Smyrna oinochoe is excluded from the Chian WG school by Lemos, 22 n. 35, 213 n. 39.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Appendix 1.d.; Petrie's classes O.2 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80), T (cf. *Naukratis* I, 20; Gjerstad, *ibid.*); Venit, *Naukratis*, 5 with n. 13. Considered of chronological relevance are the finds from Mesad Hashavyahu, a stronghold at the time of Joshua (621–609 BC); cf. J. Naveh, *Israel Exploration Journal* 12, 1962, 89–113; *id.*, *Archaeology* 15, 1962, 108ff.; R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 64, 1969, 14; Boardman, *GO³*, 51; Austin, 53; J. C. Waldbaum and J. Magness, *AJA* 101, 1997, 23–40, esp. 38f. point to the vicious circle of dating Levantine sites by Greek pottery whose chronology is itself based on Levantine sites.

²⁹¹ Cook, *GPP*, 120; *id.*, *OJA* 11, 1992, 260, puts the end of LWG further down to around 540 BC on account of the Borelli Painter, who also painted early Clazomenian sarcophagi.

²⁹² See also K. Schefold's attempt, *JDAl* 57, 1942, 124–30, to localize the Euphorbos group on the Cnidian peninsula.

²⁹³ MWG II schools in North Ionia, apart from the Chian, are not well demonstrated. Cf. P. Dupont, in *Milet*, 1986, 67; Dupont's group 'North Ionian 2' in Jones, 1986, 664. R. M. Cook, in *Festschrift Akurgal, Anadolu* 21, 1978/80, 71–4, cannot identify EWG and MWG I for Smyrna. According to him, it was not until the last quarter of the 7th c. that the WG style was adapted together with the bf technique from North Ionian workshops.

it is from here that all of the LWG-phase canonical pieces found in Naukratis originate (Plates 2a and b).²⁹⁴ The typical shapes are an olpe with trefoil mouth or—as in Naukratis—a large bowl; the lower frieze is decorated in Wild Goat style, whereas the upper frieze is in bf technique.

A further school—if one of a more provincial nature—would appear to have existed in the Aeolis under Chian influence.²⁹⁵ Although Herodotus 2. 178 classifies Phocaea among the Ionian poleis,²⁹⁶ there would still seem to have been artistic connections regarding vase-painting and architecture with Aeolian poleis such as Myrina, Larisa, and Pitane.²⁹⁷ Moreover, Dupont's analyses²⁹⁸ have revealed a general correspondence between the chemical composition of the clay used in Myrina and Larisa and that of Phocaea. Wild Goat ware may also have been produced on Lesbos.²⁹⁹ A number of Aeolian LWG dinoi and other forms have been found in Naukratis.³⁰⁰

The situation in Southern Ionia is different. In Miletus—regarded by Dupont³⁰¹ as the principal producer of MWG II—the Fikellura style developed without an intermediate LWG stage, albeit with a temporal hiatus, for which various explanations have been considered.³⁰² Cook³⁰³ has now attempted to fill this gap with the introduction of MWG III, which covers the first forty or so years of the sixth century, but cannot be much later than 560 BC, the beginning of Fikellura style. To this period he

²⁹⁴ Cf. Appendix 1.d.; Petrie's classes G.3 (Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80), perhaps Clazomenian, U.1 and U.2; cf. Bernard i 3 pls. 44.2, 45.1, 46.1; P. Dupont, in *Milet*, 1986, 63 f.; cf. Prinz, 94–7: *Naukratisch C*.

²⁹⁵ E. Walter-Karydi, 'Äolische Kunst', in *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei, Antike Kunst Beih.* 7 (1970), 5; Cook, *GPP*, 123; J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (1898), 86 ff.; cf. J. Boehlau and K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos*, iii (1942), 58 ff.; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 66, 1946, 94 with nn. 217 f. Lemos, 78, sees a Chian impact on North Ionian and Aeolian WG, and even an obscure and indirect influence on Phrygian and Carian WG. Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 257, denies Chian influence. He distinguishes an example of MWG from Pitane (first half of 6th c.) (*AR* 1964/5, 36 fig. 3) and holds that 'Larisa' MWG must have flourished well into the 6th c. Dupont's South Ionian 3 could prove to be Aeolian, too.

²⁹⁶ J. Boardman, *AntJ* 39, 1959, 209, emphasizes Ionian influence in Phocaea.

²⁹⁷ Walter-Karydi, op.cit., 6, 10.

²⁹⁸ Dupont quoted by Jones, 1986, 662.

²⁹⁹ Walter-Karydi, op.cit., 14. Alan Johnston expresses his doubts in personal correspondence, as he does not see any real evidence for this.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Appendix 1.d.

³⁰¹ Dupont, in *Milet*, 1986, 62 ff.; Cook, *GPP*, 123, looked at Samos as the leading WG school in South Ionia, but cf. now id., *OJA* 11, 1992, 256 for Miletus. In *Samos* vi 1, Walter-Karydi is too optimistic in ascribing pieces to Samos. Cf. Dupont, op.cit., 66. It seems almost obsolete to pronounce anything on the WG style at the moment, since there are thousands of sherds of WG at Miletus now, which will be published in due course.

³⁰² Cf. Dupont, *Dacia* n.s. 27, 1983, 37 f.; R. M. Cook, in *Festschrift Akurgal, Anadolu* 21, 1978/80, 72 with n. 8; G. Schaus, *ABSA* 81, 1986, 286, 289 n. 127, and his own proposal, p. 292.

³⁰³ Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 260 ff.

ascribes banded and squat oinochoai, and his former Fikellura Group R.³⁰⁴ Those MWG II pieces found in Naukratis probably originated in Miletus. Rhodes, the island to which every Wild Goat style vase was initially attributed, yields no MWG-phase pieces of which we can be absolutely certain of local origin, and only simple dishes and bowls in the LWG phase, some of which reached Naukratis.³⁰⁵

Fikellura style

This style was named after one necropolis at Kamiros on Rhodes.³⁰⁶ Cook describes it as the last purely East Greek style of vase painting.³⁰⁷ Its home was on the southern coast of Asia Minor, in Miletus, Samos, and Rhodes, Miletus probably leading the way.³⁰⁸

The characteristic shape comprises a squat amphora about 30 cm. in height. Its decoration is very distinctive: the lip is covered with quick, sketchy lines. The neck is decorated with double cable, a meander-square band or meander crosses. The triple-reeded handles are ornamented with coarse blobs. Initially, the body was divided into zones as in the Wild Goat style; gradually, however, the uppermost field increased in importance until it completely replaced the decoration of the shoulders and the lower body. An empty field developed in which figures float freely. Typical ornaments are half-moons, double cable, stylized lotus, and palmettes surrounded by vine foliage.

Fikellura ware has been found in great quantities in its home area of Southern Ionia, in the Pontic area (Berezan, Olbia, Histria³⁰⁹), and in Egypt.³¹⁰ Naukratis³¹¹ and Tell Defenneh³¹² have yielded particularly large quantities. The Fikellura style dates from 560 BC to the end of the sixth

³⁰⁴ e.g. *Samos* vi 1, nos. 526–31 and nos. 88, 534–5 for oinochoai. Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 37ff. and *Samos* vi 1, nos. 14–16, for Fikellura group R.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Appendix 1.d.; Petrie's classes O.3, O.4 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80).

³⁰⁶ Cf. Boehlau, *op.cit.*, 52ff. treating it as Samian; Prinz, 39ff.; Price, 183 f.

³⁰⁷ R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 1–98; Cook, *GPP*, 130–4. Cf. paragraph on Ionian Little Master cups below.

³⁰⁸ Jones, 1986, 665f.; Dupont, in *Milet*, 1986, 64ff.; Boardman, *GO³*, 124, 275 n. 51; Cook, *GPP*, 134 argued for Samos as a major production centre; in *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 90–3, he ascribed more importance to Rhodes on account of the finds; cf. *Samos* vi 1, 66, for Ephesus as a production centre; Walter-Karydi, in *Milet*, 1986, 75 with n. 6, for so-called early Fikellura, which perhaps was made in West Lydia; cf. C. Greenwalt, jr., *CSCA* 4, 1971, 153–180. According to Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 262, these are a Lydian version of MWG. For Miletus as production centre see Schaus, *ABSA* 81, 1986, 283 f.

³⁰⁹ Schaus, *ABSA* 81, 1986, 283, 293ff., assumes local imitations of Fikellura style at Histria.

³¹⁰ R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 85 with n. 6: one piece each from Luxor, Abusir, and Memphis, and three from the Delta.

³¹¹ Cf. Appendix 1.e.; Petrie's classes B.3, C.4, D.1, D.2, D.4 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80); cf. Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 97: 59 nos. certain, 13 nos. possible.

³¹² Petrie, *Tanis* ii, 62 described Fikellura Vases as 'common' in Tell Defenneh, but 'rare' in Naukratis; cf. Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 97: 15 nos. certain, 5 nos. possible.

century BC,³¹³ although none of the pieces found in Naukratis should necessarily be dated later than around 525 BC.

Chian pottery

Chian pottery, the best-known local school from East Greece,³¹⁴ will be discussed here separately, rather than under the generic heading of 'WG style' or 'bf pottery'. It is easily recognizable by its normal brilliant white, sometimes yellowish to milky-white slip,³¹⁵ the specific Chian shape of the chalice,³¹⁶ and the technique of decoration used. So many fragments of this white-slipped ware were found in Naukratis that it was initially called 'Naukratite' ware.³¹⁷

The characteristic shape of the chalice originated from a skyphos which gradually developed by 600 BC into the shape in question,³¹⁸ a minimal bowl from which the lip emerges like a high wall. The handles spring almost horizontally from the upper part of the bowl, while the foot is a truncated cone taking up approximately one-third of the vase's total height.

By the end of the seventh century, there were two workshops producing the same shape. While one decorated its ware in a geometric fashion enriched with a few new patterns, the so-called patterned chalices of the seventh century,³¹⁹ which cover the last third of the seventh century, the other favoured the orientalizing manner of East Greece, the WG style.³²⁰ The origins of the WG style, in or after the mid-seventh century, are uncertain, as few specimens have been found and a clear link with the previous sub-Geometric tradition is lacking.³²¹ No examples of Chian EWG and MWG I (c.640–620 BC) have been found at Naukratis.

³¹³ Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 90; R. M. Cook, in *Festschrift Akurgal, Anadolu* 21, 1978/80, 72; Schaus, *ABSA* 81, 1986, 284–8, lowers its initial date to 550 BC; Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 263, keeps to 560 BC.

³¹⁴ 'Emporio', 156–70; Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 55–62; id., in *CGED* 85f.; id., in *Chios*, 1986, 251–8; A. Lemos, *Archaic Pottery of Chios: The Decorated Styles* (1991) now gives a corpus of Chian pottery on which the following remarks are based.

³¹⁵ Lemos, 2, assumes that the colour of the slip points not to chronology but rather to workshops.

³¹⁶ Price, 203ff. dubbed the Chian cup 'chalice' to distinguish it from other kylikes.

³¹⁷ K. Kourouniotis, *AD* 2, 1916, 192–208 was the first to discover 'Naukratite' ware on Chios itself and drew the conclusion that it was produced on Chios in the first place rather than anywhere else. Price, 203, 205, and *Classification*, 16, nevertheless continued to call it, albeit hesitantly, 'Naukratite'. Cf. Lemos, 192, for a list of frags. from Naukratis, her catalogue comprising 817 nos. from Naukratis of the overall 1,659 nos. Lemos mentions that there are at least 200–300 more frags. in the BM London. Cf. Appendix 1. f.

³¹⁸ Lemos, 8ff. fig. 2, 8off. fig. 41; cf. 'Emporio', 120, 157.

³¹⁹ Lemos, 7–13; nos. 64–9 found in Naukratis (6 out of the total of 110); see 183 for dating vases of this variety.

³²⁰ Lemos, 14–78; cf. Prinz, 87ff.: *Naukratitisch A*, which is derived from *milesisch* and Bochlau's *äolisch*. Price, 216ff. divided *Naukratitisch A* into an early WG style, influenced by Rhodes, and a later chalice style, influenced by Clazomenae.

³²¹ Lemos, 64ff.; cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 294f.; Lemos, in *Chios*, 1986, 239.

It was not until MWG II (c.620–600 BC),³²² the mature stage, that increased production occurred which also shows at Naukratis.³²³ The customary shapes of this phase are the developed chalice,³²⁴ dishes, dinoi, kernoi, and oinochoai, together with different types of bowls: (i) the tripod bowl (although only one specimen from Emporio³²⁵ is known to date); (ii) the common type of bowl, with curved walls ending in an offset rim;³²⁶ (iii) a wholly Chian creation, an open bowl with steep straight-sided and out-turned walls which end in a flattened, wide, and thick offset rim on which an opposed pair of vertical, arched, and triple-reeded handles and female protomes are placed. The best-known of the last is the so-called Aphrodite Bowl from Naukratis,³²⁷ dated to around 600 BC (Plate 4). Only a few examples of Chian LWG³²⁸ from the first quarter of the sixth century exist, none of the true LWG pieces coming from Naukratis. However, there are a handful of fragments belonging to a late group in the style of the Würzburg Chalice, this group running down into the sixth century.

Around 600 BC the Animal Chalice style (c.600–575 BC)³²⁹ came into existence, another possible description for it being ‘chalices with filling ornament’. It originated from the seventh-century Chian WG workshop, the animals and ornaments stemming from the works of the painter of the Aphrodite Bowl and his entourage. The form used was that of a slender, almost biconical chalice. Specimens of this style can be found widely scattered, for example in Berezan, Delos, Tocra, and Naukratis.³³⁰

The WG workshop responsible for the Animal Chalice style also developed the so-called Grand style (c.575–550 BC).³³¹ It was characterized by its polychrome technique of decoration in reserved style, the number of colours employed being anything up to ten. The exquisite quality of drawing is to be seen at its best on the chalice, but a few other ‘Chian’ shapes are also used. The subject matter mainly involves human figures, shown in scenes of everyday life and mythology. This style has not been

³²² Lemos, 70–6, see 184 for dating; cf. Petrie’s classes F.1, F.2 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80).

³²³ Lemos, nos. 125–235 chalices (111 out of 138); nos. 248–59 bowls (12 out of 12); no. 263 dish (1 out of 4); nos. 267–8 plates (2 out of 3); nos. 280–302 dinoi (23 out of 36); nos. 340–5 oinochoai (6 out of 45); nos. 355–64 kernoi (10 out of 10); nos. 365–6 phallus cups (2 out of 3); nos. 372–416 frags. (45 out of 51).

³²⁴ Cf. ‘Emporio’, 119f., 103 fig. 60 Type D; see Lemos, 14ff. for all WG shapes.

³²⁵ Lemos, no. 259*.

³²⁶ Lemos, nos. 248–51.

³²⁷ London BM 1888.6–1.456; Lemos, 73 no. 252 fig. 4 pls. 24–7.

³²⁸ Lemos, 76ff., see 184 for dating; cf. ‘Emporio’, 157; Cook, *GPP*, 127.

³²⁹ Lemos, 88–94, see 184 for dating; cf. ‘Emporio’, 157, 103 fig. 60 type E for shape of chalice.

³³⁰ Lemos, nos. 432–610 chalices (179 out of 258); nos. 681–3 phialai mesomphaloi (3 out of 3); nos. 685–6 plates and dishes (2 out of 4); no. 688 lid (1 out of 7); and no. 695 closed vase (1 out of 2).

³³¹ Name coined by Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 56; cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 123 fig. 140; Lemos, 94–124, see 184f. for dating.

discovered on Chios to date,³³² prompting the conclusion that specimens in this style were produced at Naukratis, where they have almost exclusively been found.³³³

From the workshop producing the seventh-century patterned chalices emerged the Chalice style (c.575–550 BC)³³⁴ with its 'divisions' (a) chalices without filling ornament, i.e. Boardman's Simple Figure Chalices, (b) patterned sixth-century chalices, and (c) floral chalices. The shape is usually that of a chalice of small dimensions, decorated with either humans or lions and sphinxes. A typical feature is the decoration of the handle zone with a saw-edged metope pattern flanked by groups of lines.

The bf technique was introduced to Chios around the turn of the seventh to the sixth century displayed in the Sphinx-and-Lion style (c.600–mid-6th c.).³³⁵ Being a miniature style, it was not suited to the chalice shape, and is best seen on pyxides with domed lids, and rare shapes such as skyphos kraters. The figures were painted in silhouette, with incision used for details. Added red, but not white, was employed. The subject repertoire consisted almost wholly of lions with their characteristic incised 'ham-frilled'³³⁶ manes, and crouching sphinxes. The filling ornaments comprise the rosettes and half-rosettes which appear in Corinthian vase-painting, to which this Chian style owes a considerable number of elements.³³⁷ The style is provincial, being distributed to only few places outside Chios, such as for instance Naukratis.³³⁸

A very small group of vases in Chian bf style, showing considerable

³³² Cf. Lemos, in *Chios*, 1986, 243 and Lemos, 117f. with catalogue. Williams, AA 1983, 182 n. 35, assumes that there were Grand style chalices on Chios: 'Emporio', pl. 36 nos. 275–7 and pl. 59 nos. 731–4; but Lemos, 3 n. 18, takes the former as WG and the latter as Animal Chalice style. The pieces are so mutilated that they cannot prove very much.

³³³ Lemos, nos. 697–792 chalices (96 out of 105); no. 802 phiale mesomphalos (1 out of 1); no. 803 plate (1 out of 2); nos. 805–6 dinoi (2 out of 2); no. 807 closed vase (1 out of 1). Other chalices come from Tocra (Lemos, no. 793), Cyrene, Demeter sanctuary (Lemos, no. 794), Aegina, Aphaia Temple (Lemos, no. 795), Aegina, Old Town (Lemos no. 796), Athens, Acropolis (Lemos, no. 797), Kavala (Lemos, no. 798); I have considerable doubts about this piece as being Grand style, as it is incised; cf. Lemos, nos. 803–4, also incised; on p. 95, cf. 113, she is cautious about these being Chian), Berezan (Lemos, no. 799), Pitane (Lemos, nos. 800–1), and one plate from Kavala (Lemos, no. 804). Cf. discussion of place of manufacture in the EXCURSUS below.

³³⁴ Lemos, 125–32, see 185f. for dating; cf. 'Emporio', 157f.

³³⁵ Lemos, 133–54, see 186f. for dating; the name was coined by Boardman in 'Emporio', 166. Prinz, 92 ff. called it *Naukratitisch D*.

³³⁶ Price, 221, and *Classification*, 19.

³³⁷ Cf. A. Lemos, in *Praktika of the 3rd Intern. Congress for Peloponnesian Studies 1987–8*, 71–4 figs. 1–4.

³³⁸ Examples of this style found in Naukratis: Lemos, nos. 1287–1308, 1331–60a stemmed skyphos kraters (53 out of 106), nos. 1379–92 plastic heads (14 out of 22), no. 1400 tripod bowl (1 out of 2), nos. 1402–3 dinoi (2 out of 3), nos. 1406–15 plates (10 out of 12), no. 1418 dish (1 out of 2), no. 1420 open vase (1 out of 2), nos. 1426–30 oinochoai (5 out of 14), no. 1440 kernos (1 out of 1) and nos. 1443–53 frags. (11 out of 17).

individuality, has been dubbed BF Grand style (c. 570–560 BC),³³⁹ on account of the subjects depicted and the fine drawing. It is found on open vessels, mostly cups of the Laconian type and Chian chalices. The decoration shows strong Laconizing features: bands of rays and tongues in the Laconian manner on the outside; the pomegranate pattern along the border of the tondo of the vase;³⁴⁰ the battlement pattern as a dividing zone on garments; the rendering of plumage and the appearance of the polos, these last two being otherwise absent from Chian painting and unusual in East Greek vase-painting generally. All the fragments are attributed to a single hand. They have been found almost exclusively in Naukratis, and not a single fragment on Chios itself;³⁴¹ nor has Laconian pottery been found on Chios such as could help to explain the apparent Laconian influence upon the painter concerned. Accordingly, one is tempted to think of manufacture in Naukratis.³⁴²

The application of the bf technique to Chian chalices of a small size is shown in the bf Komast and Animal chalices (c. 565–540 BC).³⁴³ Their style is characterized by the ever-present whitish porcelain-like slip, the bf technique itself, their shape, the subject-matter (komasts and fauna), the filling ornament (where present a rosette), and the decoration inside in light-on-dark decoration. These Komast and Animal chalices are probably the output of the same workshop as produced the Chalice style at this time.³⁴⁴

There are a number of bf kantharoi with figurative or patterned decoration from the third quarter of the sixth century. The slipped type is the only one to have been found at Naukratis.³⁴⁵ The composition on the kantharoi is simple: an isolated figure flanked by palmettes is placed at the approximate centre of the 'metope'.

Many other specimens of these kantharoi exist; however, they lack figurative decoration,³⁴⁶ and were therefore excluded from Anna Lemos's corpus of decorated Chian styles. The decoration inside these plain kantharoi consists of a previously used type, as seen on other late chalices, simple red and white lotuses and buds on a black ground. Kantharoi with

³³⁹ Lemos, 154–62, see 187ff. for dating; Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 61 n. 1.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Lemos, no. 1458 (Oxford G 133.2+6).

³⁴¹ From Naukratis come: Lemos, nos. 1458–60 cups (3 out of 3), nos. 1461–5 chalices (5 out of 5), no. 1466 bowl (1 out of 1); no. 1467 frgt. is from Berezan.

³⁴² Cf. discussion in EXCURSUS below.

³⁴³ Lemos, 163–75, see 189f. for dating.

³⁴⁴ From Naukratis: Lemos, nos. 1489–1560 Komast chalices (72 out of 124), nos. 1592–99 Animal chalices (8 out of 23), nos. 1615–16 chalices with floral decoration (2 out of 2), nos. 1620–1 chalices with indiscernible or no preserved decoration (2 out of 5).

³⁴⁵ Lemos, nos. 1629–32 slipped kantharoi (4 out of 10).

³⁴⁶ 'Emporio', 161f.; D. Williams, *AA* 1983, 169; R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 157; this might be of Petrie's class A.2 (or simple chalices).

reserved bands inside should be from the second half of the sixth century. Many of them carry painted dedicatory inscriptions.³⁴⁷ They have been found on Chios and Aegina, as well as in Naukratis.³⁴⁸

Three other fragments of Chian bf from the second half of the sixth century have been found at Naukratis: one from an ivy-patterned chalice;³⁴⁹ one bf fragment showing an African boy;³⁵⁰ and a fragment of a column krater, thought to be of either Chian or Clazomenian origin.³⁵¹

Chian pottery is widely diffused in the Mediterranean,³⁵² but the most important locations are Naukratis, Thrace, and the Black Sea (Histria, Berezan, Olbia). It is rare in Egypt apart from Naukratis. One possible WG fragment is mentioned from Tell Defenneh,³⁵³ and one bf fragment is known from Abusir;³⁵⁴ there is one female protome from Zagazig which is considered to be Chian on grounds of its white slip.³⁵⁵ The comparison with Cyrene, where we have Chian pottery in almost every style of the sixth century, would appear more informative, though most of them are simple chalices.³⁵⁶ At Tocra,³⁵⁷ we know of 61 Chian vases and fragments which cover the period from the end of the seventh century (patterned chalices of the seventh century, but no WG) down to the mid-sixth century, the majority of them from the early sixth century. If we take Cook's statement³⁵⁸ that the finding of great amounts of pottery from small production centres points to the producers themselves as carriers, we can deduce that Chians were active in the trade with North Africa, being restricted in Egypt to Naukratis. The picture might change if we take the frequency of Chian amphorae from the early sixth century on Cyprus and at other Mediterranean sites as indicative of a considerable wine trade.³⁵⁹

³⁴⁷ *Naukratis* II, 63f. nos. 739–49; C. C. Edgar, *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 51; Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 159–70 pls. 34f.

³⁴⁸ Chios: 'Emporio', 161f., 244; Aegina: Williams, *AA* 1983, 169–78 type B; Boardman, *ABSA* 1956, 59; Naukratis: Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 57f.; Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 165–70.

³⁴⁹ Lemos, no. 1652*.

³⁵⁰ Lemos, no. 1657*.

³⁵¹ Lemos, no. 1652*.

³⁵² Cf. R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 44, 1949, 154–61, 156f. for map. Lemos, 191–208, with maps.

³⁵³ Lemos, 194; *Tanis* ii, 62: white-faced 'Aphrodite bowls', can be identified as chalices by reference to *Naukratis* I, pl. 10.1+3; Boardman, *GO*³, 134.

³⁵⁴ Bonn 2002.14; cf. Lemos, 194; Cook, *ABSA* 44, 1949, 160.

³⁵⁵ Lemos, 194 no. 1387, bought there but could have come from Naukratis.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Lemos, 194f.; G. P. Schaus, 'Archaic Greek Pottery from the Demeter Sanctuary, Cyrene 1969–1976: Minor Fabrics', Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania (1978), 151–71 nos. 267–314; *Cyrene* ii, 77–85.

³⁵⁷ 'Tocra' i, 57–63 nos. 771–817; 'Tocra' ii, 24–8 nos. 2042–55; cf. Lemos, 195.

³⁵⁸ R. M. Cook, *JDAI* 74, 1959, 117f. Concerning Laconian pottery, he changed his view in *JHS* 99, 1979, 153f. Lemos, 207 n. 107 rightly points to the difference between the Laconian and the Chian case, answering Williams, *AA* 1983, 155–86, who stresses the importance of Aeginetans.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Lemos 208.

EXCURSUS: The production of Chian pottery at Naukratis

In 1956, Boardman³⁶⁰ advanced the theory that Chios was not the only production centre for Chian pottery, but that production in Naukratis could have been responsible for some of this school's styles. Boardman's thesis aroused great indignation, since it affected—among others—the finest Chian style, namely the Grand Style. To the sceptic, it appeared equally unlikely that Chian clay could have been transported to Naukratis, another suggestion raised by Boardman.³⁶¹ I propose merely to rehearse the arguments and problems associated with the theory, the absence of new concrete evidence precluding a settlement of the question once and for all.

The most ambitious style within Chian pottery, to date found almost exclusively in Naukratis³⁶² and not at all on Chios—this fact prompting the above-mentioned theory—is to be seen in the Grand Style chalices. Williams³⁶³ argues the case for traces of this style nevertheless being found on Chios; however, the identification of the fragments which he cites as Grand Style remains debatable.³⁶⁴ Lemos³⁶⁵ does not mention any Grand Style pieces from Chios in her catalogue—apart from the dubious pieces in light-on-dark technique from Emporio—as already noted in her 1986 article.³⁶⁶

Speculation has been further provoked by the polychrome nature of the Grand Style. Boardman³⁶⁷ remarked that this could have been effected in imitation of Egyptian models, something further favouring the supposition of Chian pottery

³⁶⁰ J. Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 55–62.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 56; Boardman, *GO*³, 123; Boardman, in *Chios*, 1986, 252f. Although K. Arafat and C. Morgan, in I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece* (1994), 109 with n. 1, generally oppose the idea of clay being shipped around, they admit that there might be a case for the Nile Delta.

³⁶² The exceptions are: Lemos, no. 793 at Tocra ('Tocra' i, 60 no. 775 fig. 31; *Samos* vi 1, no. 814); no. 794 at Cyrene might be Grand Style (*Cyrene* ii, 78 no. 470 pl. 28); nos. 795–6 from Aegina (*AA* 1983, 156ff. no. 1 figs. 1–6; *Alt-Ägina* ii 1 16 pl. 5:78); no. 797 at Athens, Akropolis (*Samos* vi 1, no. 809), no. 798 at Kavala (cf. Lemos, 113f.: distinctive, not purely Grand Style. I would exclude this piece, along with nos. 803, and 804, as they show incisions.); no. 799 from Berezan. Inferior in quality are nos. 800–1 at Pitane in a restricted version of polychromy (*JDAI* 85, 1970, 48 figs. 14f.). Inside decorated in light-on-dark technique no. 814 at Neapolis (Kavala); however, this can also be found on other chalice styles. The same is true for nos. 808–9 from Emporio, which cannot be taken as proof for Grand Style chalices on Chios.

³⁶³ Williams, *AA* 1983, 182.

³⁶⁴ 'Emporio' pl. 36 nos. 275–7, pl. 59 nos. 731–4, Lemos, 3 n. 18 identifies the former as WG chalices, the latter as Animal Chalice style.

³⁶⁵ Lemos, nos. 697–807.

³⁶⁶ Lemos, in *Chios*, 1986, 243; cf. Lemos, 117.

³⁶⁷ Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 60.

production in Naukratis. However, he revised his opinion in 1986,³⁶⁸ pointing to the discovery of polychrome wall paintings at sites bordering the Greek cultural area in Gordion³⁶⁹ and Lycia and suggesting that this technique was known to the East Greeks in Archaic times. He added that a small wooden tablet decorated with polychrome painting had been found in Egypt and that the painting was the work of an East Greek artist from the same workshop as the vase-painters who emigrated to Etruria in the later sixth century, producing the so-called Caeretan hydriae.³⁷⁰ Lemos³⁷¹ cites not only the Anatolian wall paintings but also the fragment of a hydria from Samos,³⁷² which is closely related to the Chian style and thus points to a general knowledge of polychrome painting in East Greece. We may therefore suppose that the Chian vase-painters responsible for the development of the Grand Style also knew polychrome work from Greece.

Lemos³⁷³ argues in favour of production on Chios on the basis of stylistic tradition. The interior decorative scheme (style and polychromy) especially is used to support the argument. She divides the Grand Style into four groups, Group A³⁷⁴ following the tradition of the Chian Wild Goat and Animal Chalice styles particularly closely. Every example but two (nos. 796 and 799) of Group A was found in Naukratis. She sees two hands involved in Group B,³⁷⁵ one of them being Williams's Aphaia Painter;³⁷⁶ once again, every piece except one, found on Aegina (no. 795), comes from Naukratis. Her Group C (Naukratis Painter and group)³⁷⁷ comprises the Grand Style masterpieces; all without exception originate from Naukratis. Group D³⁷⁸ contains two pieces, both from Naukratis; however, their polychrome work is inferior to that of the other examples, and their slip is peculiarly grey.

Can we say with certainty that no production took place in Naukratis? Since we have different styles supposedly produced at Naukratis, we have to assume some sort of complete workshop, i.e. different painters and groups, which would be able to produce stylistic variants. This appears unlikely yet is not entirely impossible. One can imagine a painter who had worked in the Wild Goat and Animal Chalice styles on Chios emigrating with a few companions to Naukratis, where he could have developed the Grand Style in the new atmosphere. Moreover, this new style runs parallel to the Chalice style indigenous to Chios, a further development in the tradition of the seventh-century patterned chalices. The possibility of a workshop

³⁶⁸ Boardman, in *Chios*, 1986, 252 n. 7.

³⁶⁹ Cf. M. J. Mellink, 'Archaic Wall-Painting from Gordion', in K. de Vries (ed.), *From Athens to Gordion* (1980), 91–8. Cf. Lemos, 115.

³⁷⁰ J. H. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984), 201 f. with n. 1063.

³⁷¹ Lemos, 114, puts more stress on Chian influence on Samian artists.

³⁷² (a) Samos K 1770 (*Samos* vi 1, no. 845 pl. 98, given as Chian); (b) Hydria III/42 (A. Furtwängler, *AM* 95, 1980, 188–97 pls. 54–5 Beil. 1). Cf. H. Kyrieleis, in *Chios*, 1986, 194 pl. 3; Lemos, pls. 214 f.

³⁷³ Lemos, 117 f.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 110 f.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 111.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Williams, *AA* 1983, 160.

³⁷⁷ Lemos, 111 f.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

emigrating to Naukratis is made all the more likely by the fact that the Grand Style can be traced for a period of only about 25 years.

Another small, homogeneous style, produced for only about ten years, is the BF Grand Style. Lemos lists ten pieces in her catalogue, indicating that only a very few examples were ever made, such as could be from a single hand.³⁷⁹ All of the fragments come from Naukratis except for one from Berezan, to be found in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, and identified by Boardman. The most powerful argument for the production of this category in Naukratis is to be seen in the Laconian influence upon bowl shape, ornament, and style. No Laconian ware has been found on Chios to date, rendering such influence inexplicable if production on Chios is assumed.³⁸⁰ On the other hand, there is plentiful evidence for Laconian pottery in Naukratis, so that a Chian artist, one very possibly from the postulated Grand Style workshop in Naukratis, could have pursued his own course there.

The final category of Chian ware to provoke discussion comprises the white-slip kantharoi with dipinti. Once again, the majority of the finds originate from Naukratis, with only a few discovered on Chios³⁸¹ and Aegina.³⁸² We are thus confronted here, too, with a problem regarding the location of the group's place of origin.³⁸³ The scribes and dedicators identified by Cook and Woodhead³⁸⁴ for the Naukratis pieces do not appear on the pieces from Chios.³⁸⁵ The different scribes and dedicators could perhaps indicate production in more than one centre. Therefore production at Naukratis, too, is at least possible. Cook and Woodhead's determination³⁸⁶ of eight different scribes dated to the first third of the sixth century does not contradict this assumption, albeit not proving it.

Williams³⁸⁷ argues against production in Naukratis on the basis of the finds from Aegina, which correspond to the Chian material to an astonishing extent. In my view, however, the identification of the scribes suggests greater parallels with the material from Naukratis. Williams has identified two dedicators (Aristophantos and Damonidas), possibly coming from Aegina,³⁸⁸ but having connections with Naukratis, as apparently evidenced by votive inscriptions from that place.³⁸⁹ Other

³⁷⁹ Lemos nos. 1458–66, no. 1467 from Berezan (Hermitage B 263), cf. 159 for the attribution to a single hand.

³⁸⁰ Lemos, 162, mentions one piece from Chios influenced by Laconian: no. 1401* (Chios mus. no. 3361).

³⁸¹ Cf. 'Emporio', 161 f., 244 nos. 614–28 pls. 97 f.

³⁸² Cf. Williams, AA 1983, 169–78 type B; Boardman, ABSA 51, 1956, 59.

³⁸³ Lemos, 224, accepts arguments for the production of this class at Naukratis.

³⁸⁴ Cook and Woodhead, ABSA 47, 1952, 159–70.

³⁸⁵ Cf. 'Emporio', 243–5; Cook and Woodhead, ABSA 47, 1952, 166 nos. 35–43 for Phanai; Boardman, in *Chios*, 1986, 253.

³⁸⁶ Cook and Woodhead, ABSA 47, 1952, 161 f.

³⁸⁷ Williams, AA 1983, 181 f.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 184 ff. figs. 22+23 for inscription on marble base from Aegina with name of Arist[ophantos] (Aegina inv.-no. 2461). The two dedicants are likely to be Dorians, but could be either Aeginetan or Rhodian. Williams, AA 1993, 592 f., considers Aristophantos to be Rhodian, Damonidas Aeginetan.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Cook and Woodhead, ABSA 47, 1952, 165–70: scribe A.1 we find both on Aegina and at Naukratis (Aristophan[es] (Cook), but also possibly Aristophan[os] (Williams), which would follow from no. 170). Traces of this name on Chian kantharoi at Naukratis (dipinti): London BM 1924.12–

examples of Chian pottery have been found on Aegina,³⁹⁰ but there is not much further evidence to suggest direct exchange by Aeginetan traders with Chios.³⁹¹ Perhaps the Chian ware reached Aegina via Naukratis, pieces produced in Naukratis also finding their way on board. I concur with Boardman's remark that it would be hard to imagine dedicators in Naukratis specially ordering simple ware from Chios decorated solely with dipinti, in order to dedicate them in their place of residence, Naukratis, as seen in the example of the *hetairai*,³⁹² while figure-painted pieces of a higher quality ordered from Chios to be shipped to Naukratis never bear a dedicant's dipinto.³⁹³ The transport of clay was certainly less risky than that of fragile cups, especially if they were not figure-painted. The idea of Cook and Woodhead³⁹⁴ that traders already had the votive inscription placed on the vases in Chios, thereby taking out a form of insurance with the divinity concerned, is certainly worthy of consideration, if regrettably inapplicable in the case of the Naukratite *hetairai*.

A comparison of the situation in Naukratis with that in other sanctuaries, such as Olympia or Samos, shows that on-the-spot production of votive offerings was in fact not particularly unusual. There are examples of potters and craftsmen leaving their home polis and setting up their workshops elsewhere,³⁹⁵ carrying on in the old style but inevitably developing it further in the new environment, or even creating wholly new styles. Lemos³⁹⁶ herself, in raising the question of a Chian workshop in Thrace, probably at Maroneia, weakens her argument against a workshop at Naukratis. Admittedly, the pieces from Thrace are distinctive and do not belong to the masterpieces of the Chian school, but the Kavala column-krater, for

1.821+832 (Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, nos. 170+181 pl. 35.42-43); London BM 1924.12-1.830 (Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 179 pl. 35.20); on a coarse bowl (graffito) London BM 1888.6-1.391 (Bernand i 3, pl. 19.1); on Athenian kylix London BM 1888.6-1.398 (graffito)]ΙΣΤΟ[with three-stroked Σ (*ABV*, 55.78: C Painter 570-60 BC); cf. A. W. Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 40f.; Boardman, in *Chios*, 1986, 253.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Cook, *ABSA* 44, 1949, 160: 20-30 chalices, one EWG dish, and plain footless kantharoi.

³⁹¹ It does not seem necessary to automatically assume competition between Chios and Aegina; cf. Boardman, in *Chios*, 1986, 253.

³⁹² We know of one Mikis (Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 161: not necessarily female). Williams, *AA* 1983, 185 with n. 59 connected London BM 1924.12-1.808 (Cook and Woodhead no. 157: Αἰγυπτί) with London BM 1924.12-1.755 (Cook and Woodhead no. 112:]ς ἀν[έθηκε) which results in Aigyptis who was not necessarily an Egyptian. Cf. Cook and Woodhead no. 158, omitting τ; Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 247 n. 72.

³⁹³ Cf. Boardman, in *Chios*, 1986, 254.

³⁹⁴ Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 162.

³⁹⁵ Cf. generally Boardman, in *Chios*, 1986, 257f.; for Cumae (PC pottery): D. Williams, in J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the BM. Papers of the BM Class. Coll. 1982* (1986), 295-304; for Tarentum (MC pottery): J. Benson, in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Occasional Papers on Antiquities*, 3 (1985), 19 f.; for Thasos (imitation of Chian pottery): Salviat, in *CGED*, 87-92; *Dacia* n.s. 27, 1983, 24, 30f., 41; for Erythrai (imitation of Chian pottery): Bayburtluoglu, in *CGED*, 27-30; Boardman, in *CGED*, 316f. with objections. E. Oren, *BASOR* 256, 1984, 27f. infers from local imitations of East Greek vessels that Greek workshops were established in Delta settlements and garrison forts during the 6th c. BC.

³⁹⁶ Lemos, 209-22; ead., in *BCH* suppl. 23 (1992), 157-73.

example, is of excellent quality. The transport of clay does not seem that unusual any more, since we now know of cases in which clay must have been transported to overseas workshops.³⁹⁷ A consideration of all these facts renders the production of Chian pottery in Naukratis quite conceivable.

Clazomenian pottery

An independent bf style developed in the second quarter of the sixth century BC in Northern Ionia, the best-known representative of which is the 'Clazomenian style'.³⁹⁸ Groups related to this in style³⁹⁹ were possibly produced in Erythrae, Teos, or Phocaea.⁴⁰⁰

'Clazomenian' ware includes only a small quantity of pieces.⁴⁰¹ There are no grave contexts or stratified material to assist in dating; thus, we have solely stylistic comparisons on which to base our conclusions, and these are less reliable for a small school than for a large one.⁴⁰² Production seems to cover c. 560–525 BC, the third quarter of the sixth century seeing the peak of export activity to Naukratis.⁴⁰³ However, the major provenance is Tell Defenneh.⁴⁰⁴ Individual pieces are also known from other places in Egypt (Plate 3c).

Clazomenian vase-painting adopts the Attic bf technique—albeit not its quality—while being rooted in the Ionian tradition. The glaze has a pale shimmer, the colour of which is almost black or golden brown. The added red lies either above the black glaze or on the clay ground itself. The white slip is applied directly onto the clay ground and bordered by a brown boundary line. Inner drawing is effected by using brown diluted wash on the white or is incised into the black areas. No convention exists regarding the coloration of the flesh of male or female figures.

Scenes depicting human figures portray clothed women dancing,

³⁹⁷ Cf. generally D. Gill, *Antiquity* 61, 1987, 82f.; Benson, *op.cit.*, 20, for Corinthian clay to Southern Italy; D. Gill, *ABSA* 80, 1985, 118 for Attic clay to Southern Italy; H. A. Thompson, *Expedition* 22, 1980, 16, for Corinthian clay to Attica to produce architectural terracottas.

³⁹⁸ J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 60, 1965, 115, considers Clazomenian to be the dominant style in North Ionia during the 3rd quarter of the 6th c.; on p. 128, he reduces true Clazomenian to R. M. Cook's groups A–C.

³⁹⁹ Cf. J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 60, 1965, 119–28 for other North Ionian bf styles from Smyrna; R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 123 n. 1, 147f. for classes D and E, probably made in different North Ionian poleis; pp. 149–51 for groups possibly painted by an East Greek painter in Etruria. J. Boardman, *JHS* 78, 1958, 9–12 considers that Oxford 1924.264 from Karnak may have been produced in Egypt, cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 137, with fig. 162.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. Boardman, *JHS* 78, 1958, 12; Boardman, *GO*³, 124. According to Hdt. 2. 178, Teos and Phocaea participated in the Hellenion at Naukratis.

⁴⁰¹ R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 123–52; Cook, *GPP*, 134–6; Prinz, 42–57, esp. 46 for Naukratis, collected the finds known at his time.

⁴⁰² Cook, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 124.

⁴⁰³ Cf. Appendix 1.g; perhaps Petrie's classes F.8 and G.3.

⁴⁰⁴ *Tanis* ii, 61–7; cf. 62, Petrie assuming local production.

maenads, and riders with horse. Their anatomy is arbitrary and not standardized. The typical ornaments comprise scale pattern and crescents, which also appear at this time in the Fikellura style of Southern Ionia.

Bird bowls, rosette bowls, and eye-bowls

A rimless bowl shape developed in East Greece from the late Geometric kotyle,⁴⁰⁵ with decoration initially—during the seventh century BC—consisting of a frieze in the handle zone divided by vertical strokes into metopes containing a small bird. The majority of these bird bowls have been found on Rhodes; however, Miletus is generally regarded as their place of origin.⁴⁰⁶ Chemical analysis reveals the clay to be of Northern Ionian composition,⁴⁰⁷ leading to the supposition that standard pieces come from Smyrna and Clazomenae. There were imitations from Rhodes and possibly Samos, Ephesus, and Miletus.⁴⁰⁸

The bird bowls were superseded around 600 BC by rosette bowls which continued the pattern of the former, merely substituting rosettes for the bird decoration.⁴⁰⁹ This variant lasted into the second half of the sixth century BC, although it has been found but seldom outside the East Greek settlement area. Nevertheless, both types are known from Naukratis.⁴¹⁰

These bowls were further developed in a particular manner among finds at Naukratis, the result being eye-bowls,⁴¹¹ the characteristic decoration consists of a pair of large eyes with an arrangement of spiral forms to denote a nose. The inside is covered with a dark glaze and decorated with polychrome bands, or white and red lotus flowers or palmettes.⁴¹² Three of

⁴⁰⁵ Coldstream, *GGP*, 298–301; 'Emporio', 132–4; cf. *Histria* iv, nos. 200–36 for all East Greek bowl types; Bernand, pl. 46.2 for all variants found at Naukratis. For a picture of a bird bowl see Boardman, *GO*³, 47 fig. 16.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 298–301; *Vroulia*, 134f.; von Graeve, *MDAI(I)* 23/24, 1973/4, 86f. pls. 23f.

⁴⁰⁷ Dupont, in *Milet*, 1986, 61 n. 3; cf. 'Tocra' ii, 20, where a North Ionian origin is considered doubtful for the local series and preference is expressed for Samos and Kos.

⁴⁰⁸ Boardman, in *CGED*, 288, mentions chemical analyses resulting in the ascribing of some bird bowls to Rhodes. W. Voigtländer, in *Milet*, 1986, 50, arguing against Milesian production of bird bowls; cf. *Dacia* n.s. 27, 1983, 40f. For Samos cf. 'Tocra' ii, 20.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. 'Emporio', 170; *Vroulia*, 136–8.

⁴¹⁰ Petrie, *Naukratis* I, 49, thought of local production at Naukratis; Prinz, 69f., dealt with them under the heading of Corinthian; cf. Price, 184ff.; cf. Appendix 1.h.; Petrie's class G.1 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80).

⁴¹¹ Petrie's class G.2 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80); cf. *Naukratis* II, 41; Price, 186f. with fig. 11; Prinz, 97f.: *Naukratisch D*; J. Boehlau, *AM* 25, 1900, 71f., rejected any connection between these eye-bowls and the later Ionian and Attic bf eye-cups. D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases*, Hellenic Society Suppl. Paper 13 (1976), 64f., derives the eye-cups from bird-bowl types of the 1st half of the 6th c.; cf. piece from Cyprus (*Excavations in Cyprus* (1900), 111 fig. 160.2; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 125 no. 1025); examples from *Histria* (*Histria* iv, nos. 226–33 pl. 21.; *Dacia* n.s. 27, 1983, 40f.).

⁴¹² Cf. Price, 187 fig. 13.

these bowls could be placed over each other, forming a triple eye-bowl, as in the most famous representative of this type, the Rhoikos Bowl,⁴¹³ which bears a dedication by Rhoikos, perhaps the Samian architect, to Aphrodite and has been dated to the first quarter of the sixth century BC.⁴¹⁴

Vroulian bowls

Decoration using bright colours on a dark background was very popular in East Greece from the late seventh century onwards. The most impressive demonstration of this technique may be seen in a group of bowls (and some amphorae) from Rhodes, dated on the basis of grave contexts to c.575 BC and after.⁴¹⁵

The shape corresponds to Rhodian late Geometric bowls, which now have an offset rim and a low conical foot. The entire surface has a dark glaze, while the exterior (and often the interior) is painted with rich ornamental designs, such as palmettes and lotus flowers. The contours and inner lines are incised and emphasized with purple colouring. These bowls were seldom exported except to Naukratis (Plates 3a and b).⁴¹⁶

Ionian bowls and Little Master cups

Generic 'Ionian bowls'⁴¹⁷ are full-bodied cups with a rim, their bodies glazed black, leaving stripes between their handles. Lines of development from the Geometric period to the Ionian bowl suggest that Miletus and perhaps Samos⁴¹⁸ were major centres of production in the East.⁴¹⁹

These bowls have been found in all areas excavated at Naukratis, especially the Archaic levels of the temenos of Apollo and that of

⁴¹³ London BM 1888.6-1.392 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 7.1; Boardman, *GO*³, 132 fig. 153); *Samos* vi 1, pl. 125 no. 1024 attributes this bowl to North Ionia; cf. *Samos* vii, 113f. for Rhoikos, the Samian architect; cf. Boehlau, *AM* 25, 1900, 71 n. 3, pointing to the fact that the broken edge cannot be a lip since this type is rimless; it should rather be taken as the beginning of the third bowl.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. *LSAG*, 328 with n. 5; W. M. Davis, *JEA* 67, 1981, 73.

⁴¹⁵ They owe their name to *Vroulia*, 168-88; cf. Cook, *GPP*, 139f.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Prinz, 63; Price, 188f.; Venit, *Naukratis*, 48f. nos. 167-70 pl. 40: mid-6th c.; cf. Appendix 1.1.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. G. Vallet and M. F. Villard, *MEFRA* 67, 1955, 14-34; 'Tocra' i, 112ff.; Hayes, 5, with bibliography. *Samos* iii, 110-12 nos. I/1-7 *et al.*

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Jones, 1986, 665; in *Samos* iii, Ionian bowls are grouped under Samian production, an assumption which is corroborated by A.F. Furtwängler, *AM* 95, 1980, 163ff.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. V. von Graeve, in *CGED* 36. In *Dacia* n.s. 27, 1983, 40, Dupont suggests Rhodes and the yet unlocated provenance of his group 'South Ionia 3' as centres of production. Van Compernelle, 'Histoire économique et céramologie: recherches sur les coupes ioniennes, leur production et leur diffusion dans le monde méditerranéen de la fin du VIII^e au début du Ve siècle avant notre ère' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Brussels 1990) for more details on centres of production, particularly in the west. Currently, he carries out a programme of chemical analysis, cf. id., in *First European Workshop on Archaeological Ceramics* (1994) 343-8 and id., in *Arte e artigianato in Magna Grecia*, ed. E. Lippolis (1996), 299-302. For Gravisca cf. S. Boldrini, *Gravisca*, 4: *Le ceramiche ioniche* (1994) 137-235.

Aphrodite.⁴²⁰ Excavated material carries dedications to Apollo, Aphrodite, and the Dioskouroi.⁴²¹

One type of these bowls may be distinguished by its decorative pattern⁴²² and the nature of its inscriptions. These are in the Doric dialect and reveal *omega*, *omicron*, and *eta* forms such as occur in the Cnidian alphabet.⁴²³ This could indicate that this variant of Ionian bowls was produced in Cnidus,⁴²⁴ during the sixth century BC.

A further type of Ionian bowl exhibiting a somewhat superior finish is found at Naukratis in the second quarter of the sixth century. The lip is decorated with laurel or myrtle wreaths; this type could have originated in Samos.⁴²⁵ The bowls decorated with small knuckle-bones or animal heads,⁴²⁶ possibly produced on Rhodes, are contemporary.⁴²⁷

A further development may be seen in Ionian Little Master cups; the normally reserved lip has a more elaborate version of the laurel or myrtle wreaths mentioned above, in the form of double myrtle-leaf or ivy-leaf foliage. Figure decoration is employed in a style that originated under the influence of Attic bf pottery in East Greece around the mid-sixth century BC, yet is also related to the Fikellura style.⁴²⁸ This style eclectically employed motives from the WG tradition, with its reserved-style heads and partial use of incisions for details. The style was very short-lived and can only be traced from c. 550 to 525 BC. The cups were probably produced on Samos.⁴²⁹ They have been found at Samos, Aegina, and Perachora, in Italy, and at Naukratis.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁰ Cf. *Naukratis* I, 20 (Petrie's classes L.1, L.2, V.1 (cf. Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 80f.), X.1 pl. 10.4–6, 10, 12; 'Tocra' i, 112f. type IX (after 600 BC): e.g. Toronto 910x143.7 (Hayes, no. 7: 600–575 BC); cf. Vallet and Villard, *MEFRA* 67, 1955, 19 type A2 fig. 3 (620–600 BC); Prinz, 81–4; examples London BM 1886.4-1.98–371, 577–635, 1034 (unpubl.); Venit, *Naukratis*, 50f. nos. 171–4 pl. 41; cf. Bernard i 3, pls. 23, 25, 31.3. Cf. Appendix 1.k.

⁴²¹ Apollo: *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32 nos. 80–101, 104–121, 124–216; Aphrodite: *Naukratis* II, 66 nos. 796–825; Dioskouroi: *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 54 nos. 35, 36, 38.

⁴²² Cf. *Naukratis* I, pl. 10.10; cf. 'Tocra' i, 112f. type VI.ii (2nd and 3rd quarter 6th c.).

⁴²³ Cf. *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33 nos. 237–9, 354; (London BM 1886.4-1.681 = no. 237, inscription mid-6th c. BC; *LSAG*, 345, 352 pl. 68.32a; Johnston, no. 15; Bernard, 662 no. 198; H. Cahn, *Knidos* (1970), 84–5 fig. 7); cf. V.4.g. Cnidus.

⁴²⁴ Cf. Prinz, 82f.; Price, 181f.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Venit, *Naukratis*, 51f. nos. 177–9 pl. 41; 'Tocra' i, 114f. type XI; Price, 182f. fig. 1; cf. e.g. Toronto 910x234.15 frgt. of lip (Hayes, no. 8: 575–550 BC); Oxford G 137.59+60 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 1.29–30).

⁴²⁶ Cf. *Naukratis* I, pl. 13.1 (Petrie's class L.2); Price, 182f. fig. 2; cf. Venit, *Naukratis*, 51 nos. 175–6 pl. 41.

⁴²⁷ Cf. 'Tocra' i, 114f., cf. also type VI from Rhodes.

⁴²⁸ Cook, *GPP*, 129–30; E. Kunze, *AM* 59, 1934, 114, stresses the parallels to Attic bf; according to R. M. Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 263 with n. 75, Fikellura might be indebted to the LM cups or vice versa. cf. B. B. Shefton, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, iv (1989), 41–72, esp. 44f.

⁴²⁹ Cf. Cook, *GPP*, 130; Kunze, *AM* 59, 1934, 121; *Samos* vi 1, 22f.; Dupont, *Dacia* n.s. 27, 1983, 33f.

⁴³⁰ Cf. Kunze, *AM* 59, 1934, 91–7; for examples cf. Appendix 1.l.

Bucchero pottery

Ionian Bucchero pottery⁴³¹ may be distinguished by a fine, hard clay containing mica, fired until it reaches a dark—sometimes brownish—grey colour. The surface was occasionally given a glossy glaze, which tends to flake off. Details, such as the horizontal grooves of perfume containers, were sometimes emphasized by means of white or added red. The ware would appear to have originated from the area of Ephesus and the Meander valley, as revealed by a comparison of the clay utilized with the late Hellenistic–Roman pottery of this region.⁴³² Unfortunately, it has proved impossible so far to substantiate this supposition either by a suitably diagnostic excavation or through clay analysis. Where alabastra and fluted perfume containers of Ionian Bucchero have been discovered in grave contexts, they are usually found with Middle and Late Corinthian ware. The latest date for this type of pottery is c. 540 BC.

A different kind of Bucchero comes from the Aeolian area. It is pale grey and generally has a dull surface, although highly polished pieces also occur.⁴³³ It is thought to have been produced primarily on Lesbos⁴³⁴ and in Phocaea,⁴³⁵ from the seventh to the mid-sixth century BC,⁴³⁶ and accordingly bears the name of Aeolian Bucchero or Grey Ware.⁴³⁷ While the pieces from Naukratis⁴³⁸ cannot be dated with any exactitude, they originate in all probability from the period before 500 BC.⁴³⁹

Alan Johnston⁴⁴⁰ has identified Etruscan Bucchero among the finds from Naukratis. Such a find would show parallels with Samos, Etruscan Bucchero presumably arriving there through travellers returning from the west.⁴⁴¹

Hera cups

So-called Hera cups, single-handled cups with the dipinti *HP* or *HPH*, have only come to light in the Hera sanctuaries on Samos and at Naukratis.⁴⁴² According to Uta Kron, these cups have a purely cultic

⁴³¹ Cf. *Cyrene* ii, 73; cf. M. Gras, in *CGED* 104–6; 'Tocra' i, 65f.; 'Tocra' ii, 28; *Samos* iv, 99.

⁴³² 'Tocra' i, 66 with n. 3; Hayes argues against its Rhodian origin.

⁴³³ Cf. *Naukratis* II, 65, described as 'highly polished'.

⁴³⁴ Cf. W. Lamb, *JHS* 52, 1932, 1–12; id., *ABSA* 32, 1931/2, 51–6; Cook, *GPP*, 33f.

⁴³⁵ F. Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille (V^e–IV^e siècle)* (1960), 52.

⁴³⁶ Cf. 'Emporio', 135; Lamb, *JHS* 52, 1932, 2f. for dating.

⁴³⁷ Cf. *Larisa am Hermos* iii, 99f.; Lamb, *JHS* 52, 1932, 1, calls the early types of Bucchero 'Grey Ware'; Jones, 1986, 662; Aeolian Bucchero has not yet been chemically characterized.

⁴³⁸ Cf. *Naukratis* I, 49; *Naukratis* II, 47ff.; cf. Appendix 1.m.

⁴³⁹ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 124; Prinz, 57–63.

⁴⁴⁰ A. W. Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 38; Johnston, no. 22.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. H. Isler, *AM* 82, 1967, 88; *Samos* iv, 99f.; T. B. Rasmussen, *Bucchero Pottery from Southern Etruria* (1979) 152f., 155.

⁴⁴² *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 34 no. 447; *Naukratis* II, 61, 67 pl. 22 nos. 847–8; Prinz, 83; U. Kron, in *Pottery*

purpose. That they were produced in Samos has been confirmed by chemical analysis;⁴⁴³ rendering these cups the only kind of pottery of which we can say with certainty that it was produced on Samos.⁴⁴⁴

Cups of this kind have been found in the Samian Heraion, for example in a particularly rich bothros dated by Early Corinthian pottery to 625–600 BC.⁴⁴⁵ This bothros also held the famous kernos, on which miniature cups of this shape are placed;⁴⁴⁶ it has been dated to shortly before 600 BC. Kron⁴⁴⁷ dates the Samian dipinto group—to which other vase forms not found in Naukratis belong—to a period perhaps already beginning in the last quarter of the seventh century and then stretching far into the second half of the sixth century; she considers the peak to lie in the first half of the sixth century.

EXCURSUS: *Situlae*

Petrie found about 25 vessels in Tell Defenneh which he termed *situlae*.⁴⁴⁸ They comprise a bag-shaped cylinder, swelling at the base, on a low foot. The wide opening has an offset lip with two small handles underneath. This shape of vessel is highly unusual; its origin is unknown. The handle zone is decorated with a picture panel which portrays figures in bf technique. Palmettes and lotus flowers are sometimes found under the panel, in the style encountered on Vroulian bowls. The black-glazed body is divided into three by groups of lines.

Tell Defenneh has yielded most of the material. Some simpler examples come from Rhodes.⁴⁴⁹ None has been found in Naukratis, leading to the supposition of production in or near Tell Defenneh. We cannot be certain, however, since Tell Defenneh's function as a fort makes it hard to imagine the production there of such specialized vessels; nor has there been any sign of a Greek settlement nearby as once suggested by Cook.⁴⁵⁰ On the other hand, two fragments in Oxford of such *situlae* from Tell Defenneh, when subjected to chemical analysis, were found to

I, 296; ead., in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, ed. R. Hägg *et al.*, Proc. 5th Intern. Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 1986 (1988), 144–7; A. Furtwängler, in *Samos* iii (1989), 86–9.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Jones, 1986, 665.

⁴⁴⁴ In *Samos* vii, 114, Schmidt supposed that no assuredly Samian pottery had been found at Naukratis.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. *AM* 74, 1959, 27ff.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. *AM* 76, 1961, 28–33 Beil. 24–32.

⁴⁴⁷ Kron, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988), 145.

⁴⁴⁸ *Tanis* ii, 62f. pls. 25f.; cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 134 fig. 154.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. *Vroulia*, 126f., 188ff.

⁴⁵⁰ R. M. Cook, in *CVA London BM* (8) 32 with n. 3; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 57, 1937, 233f.; Cook, *GPP*, 138; cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 134 with n. 89; Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 55f., 62; *Tanis* ii, 48; Prinz, 55f., on the contrary, suggested its place of production in Ionia and drew parallels with WG style and Fikellura. Shipley, 87, supposes Samos as place of production.

belong to the Rhodian pottery group.⁴⁵¹ It would thus be possible that the entire group was produced either on Rhodes itself, or in Egypt from Rhodian clay; the latter theory is supported by some of the typically Egyptian motifs, such as the falcon on a basket.⁴⁵²

Figure vases

During the seventh and sixth centuries BC, small vases in the shape of figures⁴⁵³ were particularly popular as containers for perfumed oils.⁴⁵⁴ These vases of clay, some pre-shaped on the potter's wheel and then reworked by hand, some manufactured by means of moulds, are closely related through their type with the figural vases of faience⁴⁵⁵ or alabaster, as produced in Egypt. They can be distinguished from the terracottas through their openings, concealed in the case of the Corinthian examples and flat-lipped in the case of the East Greek types. Figure vases from Rhodes were generally produced by means of two hollow moulds, whereas the Corinthians preferred to use the potter's wheel and added mould-made parts. The decoration was in accordance with that of contemporary vase painting, as black-glaze, added white or red, and incision.

These vases were produced on a large scale between 610 and 550 BC and transported far and wide. Their manufacture in Corinth petered out after the mid-sixth century, presumably as a consequence of the general drop in production of decorated pottery; on Rhodes, they were replaced at this time by the so-called matt-painted vases,⁴⁵⁶ which then enjoyed production until the end of the sixth century. It remains unclear why the manufacture of perfume containers on Rhodes should have ceased at the end of the sixth century; perhaps the Ionian revolt led to an interruption in the supply of the essences required for preparing perfumes.⁴⁵⁷

Greatly differing types of these figure vases have been found at Naukratis, such as an Achelous head,⁴⁵⁸ a horse's head,⁴⁵⁹ and a hedgehog⁴⁶⁰ from Rhodes, dated to the mid-sixth century BC. Jones has chemically analyzed

⁴⁵¹ Oxford 1925.608.3–5 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 10.25–7); cf. Jones, 1986, 668–71 Table 8.8, Naukratis given erroneously as find spot; no. 13 read inv. no. 608b (608.4).

⁴⁵² Cf. Boardman, *GO³*, 134 with fig. 155.

⁴⁵³ W. R. Biers *et al.*, in *Pottery* II, 33 reject the term 'plastic vases' and suggest 'figure vases' instead. Cf. *BMCT*, 7f., and W. R. Biers, *Hesperia* 63, 1994, 509–16, for technique of production.

⁴⁵⁴ Biers *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 33–50, have analysed the content of Corinthian figure vases and found residues of perfume oils.

⁴⁵⁵ M. J. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité* (1927), dealt with both clay and faience figure vases.

⁴⁵⁶ This class is scrutinized by Higgins, *BMCT*, together with Rhodian terracottas.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. *BMCT* i, 21.

⁴⁵⁸ London BM 1888.6–1.752(4) (*BMCT*, no. 1628; Ducat, 59: *technique mixte*; H. P. Isler, *Acheloos* (1970), 44f., 142 no. 109).

⁴⁵⁹ London BM 1888.6–1.605 (*BMCT*, no. 1638; Ducat, 111: *variante de type G*).

⁴⁶⁰ London BM 1886.4–1.1470 (*BMCT*, no. 1642; Ducat, 126: *type B en miniature*).

two fragments of an alabastron, its upper section in the form of a female bust of Cypriot type from the mid-sixth century.⁴⁶¹ The alabastron belongs to the Ionian B group; while the precise provenance of the latter is uncertain, we can at least say that it is East Greek.⁴⁶² The earliest figure vase discovered in Naukratis would appear to be a pomegranate⁴⁶³ from Maximova's Pomegranate Group,⁴⁶⁴ the examples of which are thought to originate in Rhodes and have been dated to the early sixth century BC.⁴⁶⁵ A crouching male figure from Corinth⁴⁶⁶ comes from approximately the same time.

According to Higgins and Ducat, the long-necked duck⁴⁶⁷ belongs to the Robertson Group,⁴⁶⁸ the production centre of which is thought to have been in Ionia in the mid-sixth century BC. Jones's chemical analysis of this piece yielded the conclusion that it—together with two further pieces from the Robertson Group—could have originated in Miletus.⁴⁶⁹

Remarkably, none of the pieces from Naukratis appear to belong to the Gorgoneion Group.⁴⁷⁰ This group of figure vases, which was supposedly produced on Rhodes from the end of the seventh century up to the mid-sixth century, is believed to have ousted the terracotta production.⁴⁷¹

A few pieces from the second half of the sixth century BC belong to the so-called matt-painted class,⁴⁷² their centre of production presumably on Rhodes. Terracottas as well as figure vases belong to this class, all in the same style. The following shapes have been found in Naukratis: Heracles head,⁴⁷³ ?Gorgoneion,⁴⁷⁴ two heads from female statuettes,⁴⁷⁵ woman seated on a throne,⁴⁷⁶ fragment of a satyr's head,⁴⁷⁷ and a dove.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁶¹ London BM 1888.6-1.752(2).(3) (*BMCT*, no. 1630); cf. for a complete example *BMCT*, nos. 47+48; *Naukratis* II, pl. 14.11.

⁴⁶² Jones, 1986, 668-73, dates to 520 BC.

⁴⁶³ London BM 1888.6-1.752(1) (*BMCT*, no. 1654; Ducat, 143: *groupe B* 6).

⁴⁶⁴ Maximova, *op.cit.*, 90, 173.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. *BMCT*, 29f.; according to *BMCT* ii, 11, the decoration, which is similar to that of Vroulian bowls, points to Rhodes as its place of production; Ducat, 144, dates to 590-570 BC.

⁴⁶⁶ London BM 1888.6-1.660 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 15.4; *BMCT*, no. 1667); cf. figt. in Oxford (Payne, *NC*, 180 n. 3); Petrie's classes Q.3, Q.7.

⁴⁶⁷ London BM 1888.6-1.659 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.1; *BMCT*, no. 1662, cf. p. 32; Ducat, 92 ff.: type *D I* 580/70 BC).

⁴⁶⁸ C. M. Robertson, *JHS* 58, 1938, 41-50, suggesting its production in Etruria; Ducat, 161, dates *Groupe de Robertson II* to 560-50 BC.

⁴⁶⁹ Jones, 1986, 672f. no. 207 (wrong inv. no.).

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Maximova, *op.cit.*, 174f.; *BMCT* ii, 9; R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (1967), 30ff.

⁴⁷¹ R. V. Nicholls, *AJA* 61, 1957, 304, however, assumes that the Rhodian terracottas were replaced by Cypriot ones, which were found everywhere around 600 BC.

⁴⁷² Cf. *BMCT* ii, 10; also called Aphrodite Group; Higgins, *op.cit.*, 32-7, esp. 30, conjectures its production on Samos or in Miletus.

⁴⁷³ London BM 1886.4-1.1402 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 15.7; *BMCT*, no. 50).

⁴⁷⁴ London BM 1888.6-1.94 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 15.10; *BMCT*, no. 52).

⁴⁷⁵ London BM 1886.4-1.1400 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 15.8; *BMCT*, no. 60; Ducat, 63 no. 4: *Sarnienne Ia* 4 with Rhodian garment); London BM 1886.4-1.1421 (*BMCT*, no. 61).

⁴⁷⁶ London BM 1886.4-1.1398 (*BMCT*, no. 63). ⁴⁷⁷ London BM 1886.4-1.1443 (*BMCT*, no. 85).

⁴⁷⁸ London BM 1886.4-1.1357 (*BMCT*, no. 100; Ducat, 153: *oiseaux I la queue abaissée*).

*b. Terracottas*⁴⁷⁹

The term 'terracotta' is usually employed to describe sculpturally formed statuettes and small reliefs made of clay, but large statues and architectural ornament were also made of terracotta. Primitive terracottas were formed by hand; the end of the 8th century saw the reintroduction of the matrix technique to Greece, however, enabling the production of terracottas from the mould. This simplified the process, in that terracottas could now be made everywhere to the same standard. It may thus be the case that it was the matrices, rather than the finished products themselves, which were transported. Mixed techniques also emerged, such as that in which the head was pressed out of the mould while the cylindrical body was created on the potter's wheel, the two sections being joined together afterwards.

Certain types existed during the Archaic period both as vases and as statuettes. The important difference may be seen in the fashioning of the air-hole, which serves as the spout in the case of the vases and is formed accordingly, but lies in the base or back of the statuettes and is stopped up after firing. Strictly speaking, a differentiation should also be made on the basis of decoration, vases typically having a fired black or red glaze and terracottas characteristically being painted after firing. However, terracottas bearing such a glaze exist, while matt-painted vases are also painted after firing.

A number of the votive terracottas found in Naukratis are of local production⁴⁸⁰ and imitate Egyptian, Cypriot, and Mixed Style types. They are made of so-called Nile mud, a light, coarse micaceous clay, normally fired hard. Its colour varies between orange, pale orange, and brown, often revealing a grey core.

The oldest piece discovered is a relief panel bearing the representation of a nude Aphrodite⁴⁸¹ in an architectural surrounding suggested by two columns, such a setting being typically Egyptian. The portrayal follows the Astarte type and has been dated to the end of the seventh century.

⁴⁷⁹ This can only be regarded as prolegomena to a study of the terracottas found in Naukratis, since they have still not been published in an adequate manner. The Hellenion seems to have been the richest find spot for those terracottas which were published in part in *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 67ff. The terracottas in the BM London were published by Walters without illustrations, while Higgins excluded the Cypriot pieces from his catalogue. There are approximately 400 pieces now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge having been recovered in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, while a new inventory was being made; cf. *AR* 1965/6, 51; *Samos* vii, 140 n. 147a; Budde and Nicholls 8 n. 3. According to John Donaldson (Cambridge), personal correspondence, most of them are Hellenistic, but about seventy are Archaic. Very few, if any, appear to be Cypriot.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. *BMCT* i, nos. 1542–50.

⁴⁸¹ London BM 1886.4–1.1543 (*BMCT*, no. 1542); cf. Rhodian pieces of same type *BMCT*, nos.

On studying a woman's head⁴⁸² and the body of a ?woman,⁴⁸³ one can clearly recognize Egyptian models behind the fashioning of both the headscarf and the upper part of the loincloth. A man's head⁴⁸⁴ from the mid-sixth century is comparable with the sandstone or limestone kouros statuettes likewise found in Naukratis, his hairstyle alone revealing some differences. The two squatting Bes figurines⁴⁸⁵ reflect the Egyptian amulets of faience and blue frit also found—and possibly produced—at Naukratis. An early fifth-century African head⁴⁸⁶ discovered in Naukratis is similar to a somewhat later statuette of a squatting African from Rhodes,⁴⁸⁷ the latter perhaps influenced by the Naukratis model. Finally, there are two relatively coarse, hand-formed, mounted figures⁴⁸⁸ from the mid-fourth century.

Imports to Naukratis include a crouching dwarf,⁴⁸⁹ belonging to the Rhodian Aphrodite group from the second half of the sixth century BC; a dancing doll from Corinth,⁴⁹⁰ dated to the early fifth century BC; an Attic woman's head⁴⁹¹ from the early 4th century; and a somewhat later Corinthian Aphrodite-and-Eros group.⁴⁹²

The vast majority of the terracottas come from the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods and are mentioned here only in passing.⁴⁹³ Many of the terracottas uncovered in and to the east of the Hellenion by *sebakhin* were votive offerings to Aphrodite.⁴⁹⁴

One group of terracottas from Naukratis comprises Cypriot types; unfortunately, they have received the scantiest treatment in the literature.⁴⁹⁵ They include such types as a warrior with helmet in the early

⁴⁸² London BM 1886.4-1.1422 (*BMCT*, no. 1543; *Naukratis* I, pl. 1.8 given as vase).

⁴⁸³ London BM 1886.4-1.1453 (*BMCT*, no. 1544).

⁴⁸⁴ London BM 1886.4-1.1423 (*BMCT*, no. 1545).

⁴⁸⁵ London BM 1886.4-1.1455 (*BMCT*, no. 1546, 6th c. BC); London BM 1888.6-1.105 (*BMCT*, no. 1547, beginning of 5th c. BC; cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 95 no. 286; Walters, c 593); Bes operating as *kourotrophos* in Ionia cf. U. Sinn, in *Antidoron. Festschrift J. Thimme* (1983), 87–94.

⁴⁸⁶ London BM 1886.4-1.1414 (*BMCT*, no. 1548).

⁴⁸⁷ London BM 64.10-7.146 from Kamiros (*BMCT*, no. 269).

⁴⁸⁸ London BM 1888.6-1.90 (*BMCT*, no. 1549); London BM 1886.4-1.1468 (*BMCT*, no. 1550).

⁴⁸⁹ London BM 1886.4-1.1441 (*BMCT*, no. 92).

⁴⁹⁰ London BM 1886.4-1.1407 (*BMCT*, no. 911).

⁴⁹¹ London BM 1886.4-1.1419 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 15.1; *BMCT*, no. 714bis).

⁴⁹² London BM 1888.6-1.125 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 16.18; *BMCT*, no. 971); cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 81 no. 38, 82 no. 47.

⁴⁹³ Cf. *Naukratis* I, 41 pl. 15; *Naukratis* II, pl. 15.3, 6, 8, 9, 11, pl. 16. 1-5, 8-14, 16; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 70ff.; Walters, 248-61 nos. c 560-3, 565-86, 588-91, 593-611, 613-45.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 75-85 nos. 2-77; no. 1 pl. 10.1 (Oxford G 76: *CVA* (2) ii D pl. 10.23) is a female plastic head from a vase.

⁴⁹⁵ Higgins in *BMCT* omitted a number of pieces from Walters's catalogue because they are Cypriot, cf. Walters, B 325, 328, 331-3.

Neo-Cypriot style,⁴⁹⁶ Neo-Cypriot heads of female statuettes,⁴⁹⁷ male draped-figure statuettes,⁴⁹⁸ and flat Aphrodite statuettes of the Achna type (Plate 6b).⁴⁹⁹ Schmidt⁵⁰⁰ assumed these to have been Cypriot imports; my impression is rather one of very poor imitations and—if imports at all—of inferior quality. Those pieces known to me from Naukratis are decidedly inferior in quality to the Cypriot terracottas found in the Heraion on Samos, for example. However, these statuettes need proper study before we can decide if they were locally produced, or if only pieces of lesser quality were dedicated at Naukratis.

c. Faience figures

While faience had been known in Egypt for some considerable time prior to the New Kingdom, it was only then that it became really popular, replacing such valuable materials as ivory and semiprecious stones. Production was concentrated on fashionable amulets and small vessels bearing low-relief decoration, the so-called Tuna-el-Gebel ware (22nd dynasty: tenth to ninth centuries BC).

A determination of what is genuine Greek faience is no easy task. Webb⁵⁰¹ points out that East Greek faience displays a mixed style resulting from Egyptian, Greek, and Near-Eastern influences. The term 'East Greek faience' after its principal area of distribution does not cover all its features.

The finds in Naukratis and the evidence for the existence of a workshop there have at least enabled us to establish one centre of faience production.⁵⁰² Furthermore, the necessary raw materials will presumably have been easiest to obtain there, something perhaps representing a problem for workshops in Greece. Taking the distribution of finds as her basis, Webb⁵⁰³ supposes the existence of a production centre on Rhodes: the majority of items listed in her catalogue originate there. The resemblance of certain types of faience figure vases to Rhodian types in clay could also be explained by a workshop on Rhodes.

⁴⁹⁶ *Naukratis* I, pl. 2.5 (probably lost, given as limestone, end of 7th c.); *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, no. 290; cf. *Samos* vii, pl. 11 T 229; limestone head in *JHS* 25, 1905, 130 fig. 9; *SCE* ii, pl. 219.3. The chronology of Cypriot styles is disputed, and I adopt that of Schmidt here; cf. Reyes, 33 with table 3.

⁴⁹⁷ *Naukratis* I, pls. 2.2, 3; cf. *SCE* iii, pl. 203.3; *Samos* vii, pl. 81 T 385 (found underneath the temple of Rhoikos, same workshop as pl. 2.2); *Samos* vii, pl. 49 T 24 and pl. 52f. T 636 for pl. 2.3.

⁴⁹⁸ Walters, C 606; cf. *SCE* iv 2, 321 end of 5th c./ beginning of 4th c.

⁴⁹⁹ Walters B 325; cf. *SCE* iii, pl. 203.3–5.

⁵⁰⁰ *Samos* vii, 115.

⁵⁰¹ Webb, 9f., 153 n. 69.

⁵⁰² Cf. V.3.h; Prinz, 104ff. assigned all faience found in the Mediterranean to the Naukratis workshop.

⁵⁰³ Webb, 5, *et passim*.

Webb divides her faience into three phases. Phase I (mid-seventh century)⁵⁰⁴ sees the emergence of aryballoi, pyxides, alabastra, and pilgrim bottles,⁵⁰⁵ and particularly double vases in the shape of a nude figure kneeling before a great vessel on which a frog sits. These double vases have two openings, one in the figure's head, which is decorated with a palm capital, and the other in the mouth of the frog. If the upper opening is firmly plugged after the vessel has been filled, the resulting vacuum prevents any liquid from leaving the lower one, unless the vase is shaken or the upper stopper briefly removed.⁵⁰⁶ Examples of this phase have been found primarily on Rhodes, but also on Samos, at Perachora, in the Sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta, in the Heraion at Argos, and at Cyrene⁵⁰⁷ as well as in the west. Webb⁵⁰⁸ supposes their production to have taken place on Rhodes.

Phase II (late seventh century)⁵⁰⁹ saw the production of human and animal figurines with suspension holes, in imitation of Egyptian amulet types. In Greece, these have been found almost exclusively on Samos and Rhodes; elsewhere, however, they demonstrate a wider distribution than the faience vessels of the first phase. Naukratis has come to be regarded as their probable centre of production, a large quantity of these types being found here.⁵¹⁰

Phase III (end of seventh century to first half of sixth century)⁵¹¹ is characterized by the renewed production of vases, including variants on the spherical aryballos with incised lozenge pattern or Egyptian cartouches, New-Year bottles with Egyptian cartouches (Psammetichos II, Apries, Amasis), and figure vases in types known to us in clay: Achelous and Heracles heads, helmeted heads, hedgehogs, and so on (Plates 7a and b). As regards distribution, it is once again the finds from Rhodes and Naukratis that lead the field; in general, however, distribution is spread over a wide area. Webb supposes Rhodes and Naukratis once again to have been the centres of production.

It seems to me that Phase II could quite possibly have taken place parallel to Phase III, since Webb⁵¹² dates the faience figurines to between 630 and 550 BC and these would appear to constitute mainly the types of

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 6f.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 68 ff.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. P. G. Warden, *Cyrene* iv, 11 f., ascribes the faience figurines to the Rhodian workshop.

⁵⁰⁸ Webb, 11.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Appendix. 2.

⁵¹¹ Webb, 7, 114 ff, 122.

⁵¹² Ibid., 81.

her Phase II. On the basis of the finds in Naukratis and the evidence of production there,⁵¹³ I am inclined to suppose that amulets, scarabs, and vases of faience were produced in Naukratis between the end of the seventh century and the third quarter of the sixth century.

A clear differentiation between Egyptian and Greek faience remains problematic. On the one hand, faience is an Egyptian invention and the motifs found are in part Egyptian, though so altered that one must assume Greek craftsmen to have been at work on this material.⁵¹⁴ On the other hand, Greek motifs were also misunderstood, leading one to ask whether non-Greeks might not also have produced these Mixed Style vases.

d. Scarabs

Egyptian scarabs of the second and first millennia BC were of semiprecious stones or steatite, a form of white or grey talc (hydrated magnesium silicate). It has a soapy feel, is very easy to work with a knife or fingernail, and can easily be glazed, since a glaze does not penetrate into the material. Heating causes the water to be removed, resulting in a hardening of the steatite.⁵¹⁵ Such scarabs existed alongside those of faience and blue frit in the first millennium. Faience scarabs were produced in Naukratis from the end of the seventh century BC on, as evidenced by the discovery of the faience workshop.⁵¹⁶

Some scarabs found at Naukratis were produced there, others belong to types of which examples found elsewhere have been dated by context to times earlier than the establishment of Naukratis. These types were produced either at other Delta sites⁵¹⁷ or in the Rhodes workshop which antedates that at Naukratis.⁵¹⁸ The examples of Gorton's type V, imitations of Hyksos style scarabs in steatite, could come from an Egyptian workshop either in or with close connections to Naukratis; its distribution pattern including South Russia indicates its travel along a Greek route.⁵¹⁹

Andrée Gorton⁵²⁰ has established a Group 6 (The Naukratis Factory and Forerunners) in her typology, in which types XXVIII to XXX are likely to be produced at Naukratis, where examples of types XXXI to XXXIII are dated to contexts earlier than the establishment of Naukratis raising the

⁵¹³ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 126–8.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Prinz, 100ff.

⁵¹⁵ A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ (1962), 155f.

⁵¹⁶ *Naukratis* I, 36ff.; cf. V.3.h.

⁵¹⁷ Gorton, 80, 178; Gorton's type XI (Late Egyptian type) is found in contexts dated to the end of the 8th and early 7th cc. For finds from Naukratis, cf. Appendix 3.

⁵¹⁸ Gorton, 80; Gorton's type XXVI in group 5 (Egyptianizing types for the Punic market).

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 178. According to her (18), the dating of this type is impossible to ascertain.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 91ff.

question where these were produced. From the iconography of her type XXXII, Gorton⁵²¹ suggests Rhodes as the place of origin for this type. The most common type of the Naukratis workshop is Gorton's XXVIII, comprising different shapes in faience as true scarabs, disks, Bes, and African heads, all produced by casting. Particular mention should be made of the African head scaraboids, characteristic of the Naukratis workshop and going back to models from the Middle Kingdom (around 1700 BC).⁵²² The motifs on the bottom surface are repetitive and hurriedly worked. They depict lucky symbols or representative subjects (lions with sun disc, ibex, horus falcons, lotus flowers), such as had already been adopted into Greek art but are generally considered typically Egyptian. The hieroglyphic inscriptions consist mainly of reduced imitations of royal names, or hieroglyphs used purely for decorative effect and having no particular meaning. This would suggest a form of mass production of Egyptianizing scarabs for a Greek public.⁵²³

According to von Bissing,⁵²⁴ the stone scarabs⁵²⁵ among those found at Naukratis reveal no typological affinity with those of faience, something arguing against their production here. It is unlikely that genuine Egyptian faience scarabs were produced in Naukratis, since the forms found by Petrie in Naukratis differ from the typically Egyptian ones in that the former have no ducts at the side.⁵²⁶

The scarabs produced in Naukratis have been found spread all over the Mediterranean area, for instance in Cyrene,⁵²⁷ on Rhodes, Chios (the majority here being types from Naukratis), Samos, in Olbia, Berezan, Perachora, and Argos, as well as in Carthage and Spain. With the exception of Chios, however, the majority of the scarab types found in Ionia are not of Naukratite origin. Where it is possible to date the contexts in which the Naukratis scarabs have been found, the result is always somewhere between 630 and 525 BC,⁵²⁸ corresponding to the period indicated by the pottery uncovered in the faience workshop.

Another production centre for Greek scarabs is thought to have existed

⁵²¹ Ibid., 182, although on 114–17, she suggests Naukratite production.

⁵²² Von Bissing, *F&F* 25, 1949, 2.

⁵²³ In *Naukratis* I, 36, Petrie pointed to the un-Egyptian character of the scarabs; in *Naukratis* II, 71, Petrie is quoted from 'The Academy' of 16 July 1887, assuming the workshop was 'in Greek hands'.

⁵²⁴ Von Bissing, *F&F* 25, 1949, 2.

⁵²⁵ *Naukratis* I, pl. 38. No. 151 is Gorton's type V 5, no. 152 her type XII 8b, both in steatite, no. 169 her type XXXVI 44 in her miscellaneous group. The last one is likely to have been produced at Naukratis according to Gorton, 182f.

⁵²⁶ Andrée Gorton strongly disagrees in this point (personal correspondence). She has announced (Gorton, 180 n. 118) a detailed study of scarabs and moulds from Naukratis.

⁵²⁷ Cf. S. Lowenstam, in *Cyrene Final Reports*, iii (1987), 3f.

⁵²⁸ Sir John Boardman suspects a later start at around 600 BC.

on Rhodes. Other objects of faience, such as vases, will presumably also have been produced here. Those scarabs not of Naukratite origin have been found in contexts dated to before 630 BC. Gorton's Rhodian Type XXII,⁵²⁹ which occurs frequently in Ionia, has never been found together with Naukratite types, something that could be explained by a temporal difference. As the distribution pattern of these early Greek scarabs corresponds to that of the Rhodian faience of Webb's Phase I,⁵³⁰ the suspicion arises that the scarabs were also produced on Rhodes.⁵³¹ Some scarabs of possible Rhodian origin have nevertheless been found in Naukratis.⁵³²

e. Statuettes

The works of sculpture found in Naukratis are mostly small statuettes of sandstone, limestone, alabaster, clay, or faience. Similar types often occur in different materials, involving merely an adaptation of the finish to suit the material in question. Many of them, and especially those of clay, faience, and alabaster, were presumably produced locally in Naukratis, something that can be deduced from the material involved or their rough execution. Such items of local production reveal the diverse cultural influences of Egyptian, Syro-Phoenician, Cypriot and Ionian art. It is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between these and genuine imported articles, since the supposed imports themselves often reveal the so-called Mixed Style and their design does not necessarily display superior quality.

A differentiation between local and imported items is especially difficult in the case of Cypriot sculpture. Gjerstad,⁵³³ taking the excavations on Cyprus as his basis, established four styles characterized by different influences. The Proto-Cypriot style⁵³⁴ is dominated by indigenous features, which are part of the Near-Eastern cultural sphere. The characteristic features of indigenous Cypriot sculpture may perhaps be summarized as follows.⁵³⁵ The body is atectonic.⁵³⁶ It consists not of structured limbs but of

⁵²⁹ Gorton, 63–72.

⁵³⁰ Webb, 6f.

⁵³¹ Gorton, I, 72.

⁵³² *Naukratis* I, pl. 37. 61 (XXVI-C 7), 131 (XXVI-A 1), 126 (XXXII-B 10); *Naukratis* II pl. 18. 3, 7, 46, 47 (XXXII-A 2–5), 6 (XXXII-A 28), 56 (XXXII-B 9); and Gorton, XXVI-A 14, ?XXVI-B 4, XXXII-B 8.

⁵³³ *SCE* iv 2, 92–125, 339–65. On Gjerstad's view on Cypriot history and its implications for his chronology, cf. Reyes, 3f.; and p. 91 above.

⁵³⁴ Schmidt, *Samos* vii, 136 n. 66, suggested *frühkyprisch* instead of Proto-Cypriot and *reifkyprisch* instead of Neo-Cypriot. The Cypro-Greek style would be the late phase of Cypriot style.

⁵³⁵ Cf. B. Lewe, 'Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik', Ph.D. thesis, Frankfurt a.M. (1975), 31–8.

⁵³⁶ For the term *Tektonik* cf. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *MarbWPr* 1962, esp. 36 n. 4; id., *Bemerkungen zur geometrischen Plastik* (1964), discussing the term concerning its application to Geometric figures.

a single abstract unit, in effect serving merely to support the head. However, if one takes Greek sculpture as the yardstick, one can say that it does not demonstrate the *Spannung von Ordnung und Leben* so distinctive of Greek sculpture. This atectonic manner of portrayal links Cypriot sculpture to that of the Near East. The proportions also seem randomly selected. The Cypriot statuettes are strictly frontal, neglecting the back, which appears mostly as a simple flat surface with no further working. The flatness of the entire appearance does not stem from any derivation from relief work—something very rare on Cyprus—but rather from strict frontality.⁵³⁷

The form of the heads ranges from triangular to ovoid, with protruding eyeballs in the Near-Eastern manner. The artists took more care with the heads than with the bodies; Gjerstad⁵³⁸ accords the faces 'individuality'. The men have long beards and usually wear headgear, in the form of helmets or Cypriot caps with cheekpieces which either hang down or are tied together on top of the head. In contrast to the nude kouros, these figures are always clothed. The dress of the Cypriot statuettes consists of a short tunic, or a chiton with a deep-falling fold occasionally revealing the belt in the middle.⁵³⁹ The typical pose for the figures, standing either in a symmetrical posture or with one foot placed slightly forward, has the one arm in front of the chest while the other hangs down at the side. The statuettes of female figures usually bear a bowl, lotus flower, bird, pomegranate, or something similar in the hand in front of the breast.

The Neo-Cypriot style defined by Gjerstad sees influences partly from Egypt and partly from Greece superimposed upon the indigenous Cypriot elements. Gjerstad distinguishes a further style, namely the Cypro-Egyptian; however, this is found only in limestone sculpture. It is more dependent on the Egyptian model, and has the Egyptian wig hairstyle and short-sleeved tunic or loincloth style of dress. The broad forehead and fleshier modelling give the face a bulkier appearance.⁵⁴⁰ With Greek

⁵³⁷ However, some of the clay figurines have a cylindrical body produced on the potter's wheel.

⁵³⁸ *SCE* iv 2, 95.

⁵³⁹ However, the central vertical folds of the chiton of female statuettes are taken as a characteristic Ionian feature by Gjerstad, *SCE* iv 2, 367.

⁵⁴⁰ Gjerstad, *SCE* iv 2, 208, gave this style a chronological significance. Lewy, *op.cit.*, 92, objected. C. C. Vermeule, *AJA* 78, 1974, 287, argues for an ethnic and social fashion instead of a chronological period during the assumed Egyptian rule. According to G. E. Markoe, *Levant* 22, 1990, 111–22, the Egyptianizing influences are more likely to have come via Phoenicia than directly from Egypt. There is much discussion about a so-called Egyptian rule of Cyprus; for chronology cf. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (1940), 108 ff.; O. Masson, *BSFE* 60, 1971, 29–32; Lloyd *com.* on *Hdt.* 2. 182. H. J. Watkin, *JHS* 107, 1987, 154 with n. 1 holds the old view that Egyptian control continued until the Persian takeover, which took place according to him only in 526 or 525 BC. See now Reyes, 69–84, who denies any extended military occupation or political domination by Egypt, but rather favours a more equal treaty relationship.

influence being increasingly noticeable, Gjerstad's Cypro-Greek style is emerging.

Gjerstad's system is decidedly complex and overlaps in the chronology suggest that he had not fully worked it out.⁵⁴¹ Schmidt⁵⁴² proposed a later date. He regarded a Cypriot female statuette from Tomb XXVII in Kamiros⁵⁴³ as belonging not to the beginning of Proto-Cypriot Phase II but to its end. While it is impossible to determine the tomb context exactly, the terracotta figure would seem to have originated somewhere around 610 BC. Accordingly, Schmidt dates the end of the Proto-Cypriot style to 610/600 BC, and its beginning to 670/660 BC. The succeeding Neo-Cypriot style would then cover the period from 610/600 to 560/550 BC, when import of Cypriot sculpture to Samos ceased.⁵⁴⁴ As yet, no absolutely certain dating is available for Cypriot sculpture, but Schmidt's chronology would seem to be confirmed by the evidence from Samos.⁵⁴⁵

When examining the so-called Cypriot statuettes from Naukratis, we should perhaps follow Nicholls's suggestion⁵⁴⁶ that this kind of statuette found in western Asia Minor, the Aegean, and Naukratis should be considered as of Mixed Style, composed of elements from East Greece, Egypt, and—especially—Cyprus. Nicholls as well as Lewe⁵⁴⁷ suspect that this Mixed Style developed either as a result of the East Greek imitation of Cypriot models or through emigrant Cypriot craftsmen. Lewe argues in support of the thesis that Cypriot craftsmen worked in Naukratis, where they came into contact with East Greek models. Given the rougher execution of many of the figures, they might originate in Naukratis, yet they could equally well have come from other production centres in East Greece. At all events, evidence for the presence of Cypriots in Naukratis is at best sketchy.⁵⁴⁸ The chronology of Mixed Style figures is based upon

⁵⁴¹ Cf. Vermeule, *AJA* 78, 1974, 287–90, esp. 289f.

⁵⁴² *Samos* vii, 93–8.

⁵⁴³ *Clara Rhodos* 6–7, 1932/3, 84–98 fig. 102. The grave contained a Corinthian figure vase, two MWG oinochoai, EC aryballoi, rosette bowls, Ionian bowls and Egyptian faïence, a collection which is typical for the time just before 600 BC.

⁵⁴⁴ Lewe, *op.cit.*, 92, dates the Proto-Cypriot period to 650/40–590/80 BC, and the Neo-Cypriot period to 590/80–550/40 BC.

⁵⁴⁵ H. Kyrieleis, in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (1989), 52–67. W.-D. Niemeier (Heidelberg) was so kind as to tell me that Neo-Cypriot statuettes (Schmidt's group 4) were excavated in a formerly undisturbed part of the basement of the Rhoikos temple at Samos. According to H. Kyrieleis, in *Greek Sanctuaries*, ed. N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (1993), 133 f., the beginning of the Rhoikos temple is dated into the 1st or early 2nd quarter of the 6th c. This at least gives a *terminus ante quem* for the Neo-Cypriot style of around 575 BC.

⁵⁴⁶ Budde and Nicholls, 5.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; Lewe, *op.cit.*, 30.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. *Samos* vii, 115; Boardman, *GO³*, 125 f.; cf. EXCURSUS: Cypriots at Naukratis?

stylistic comparisons and the archaeological contexts in which they have been found.⁵⁴⁹

Despite all the similarities, it is possible to distinguish Mixed Style figures from Cypriot statuettes. The type of statuette which is most likely to have been a Cypriot import or faithful copy of Cypriot models is that of the draped female (Plate 6a),⁵⁵⁰ wearing a long chiton with deep-falling fold, a big pearl necklace with amulets,⁵⁵¹ and a veil, sometimes decorated with a diadem. The left hand is held in front of the breast, with a bowl, a bird, a lotus flower, or something similar resting in it. All such statuettes are of limestone; it is difficult to say whether this is local or imported from Cyprus. Gjerstad⁵⁵² rejects direct Cypriot origin for B453, 460, and 461, seeing an Ionian characteristic in the central vertical folds of the chiton.

The imitation of Cypriot models may be seen in the upper part of the body of an alabaster warrior.⁵⁵³ It is clothed in a cloak which merges into a chiton on the left shoulder. The Cypriot garment was misunderstood here.⁵⁵⁴ The head is covered with a Cypriot cap, its cheekpieces tied up. The hair, divided into tresses by vertical grooves, falls down the back as with Greek kouroi. The careful working of the back definitely excludes the possibility of Cypriot origin. The material employed, alabaster, indicates production in Egypt, something that could very well have taken place in Naukratis. A model for this piece may be seen in the terracotta version of a Neo-Cypriot type from the early sixth century BC.⁵⁵⁵

Examples from Naukratis of the Mixed Style with pronounced Cypriot features include a cloaked man holding a kid in front of his chest;⁵⁵⁶ a man

⁵⁴⁹ Budde and Nicholls, 5.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. *BMCS* i:1 B452 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 2.1); B453 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 2.4); B454 (*Naukratis* I, 13); B455 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.9) playing the tympanon; B456 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 1.6; cf. *BMCS* i:1, 183; *SCE* iv 2, 321 with n.1 for unfinished condition of statuette. However, as this piece shows traces of colour and looks rather worn, it was obviously mistaken for B457, which is described as unfinished.); B457 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 15.5); B458 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.8); B460 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.12); B461 (fig. 236); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.2.1887 (Budde and Nicholls no. 18 pl. 4); Cairo 27429 (Edgar, *Sculpture*, pl. 1); 27430 (Edgar, *Sculpture*, without fig.); 27610 (Edgar, *Sculpture*, pl. 1); *Naukratis* II, pl. 14.4; cf. the later piece, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.4.1899 (Budde and Nicholls no. 20 pl. 3 in Mixed Style, mid-6th c. BC).

⁵⁵¹ Cf. golden necklaces found on Cyprus *SCE* iii, pl. 205.

⁵⁵² *SCE* iv 2, 367; cf. *Samas* vii, 115 pl. 111 (Berlin Sa 199).

⁵⁵³ *BMCS* i:1 B447 (*Naukratis* I, 36 pl. 1.2; M. S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie. A Life in Archaeology* (1985), pl. 14 shows Petrie's photograph, in which the back of the statuette can be seen in a mirror. Drower, *op.cit.*, 74, used the name 'Carian warrior'.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. *SCE* iii, pl. 11.2; Budde and Nicholls, no. 22 pl. 4.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. J. R. Davis and T. B. L. Webster, *Cesnola Terracottas in Stanford University Museum* no. 17 (C429) pl. 1.

⁵⁵⁶ *BMCS* i:1 B450 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 15.1); cf. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer* (1893), pl. 50.2; however, female and different style. The given comparisons are similar only in type, while less so in execution and style, leading me to the assumption that Gjerstad was too enthusiastic in identifying imports from Cyprus. I myself prefer the assumption of Mixed Style.

carrying a ram on his shoulders and holding its legs in his right hand;⁵⁵⁷ men wearing chiton and cloak, one arm crooked and hidden in a fold of the cloak;⁵⁵⁸ a lyre player;⁵⁵⁹ a seated figure dressed in chiton, cloak, and Cypriot cap;⁵⁶⁰ and statuettes of the 'nursing mother' (Isis-and-Horus type).⁵⁶¹

The limestone hunter⁵⁶² may be seen as typifying the Mixed Style (Plate 5a). He adopts a stance with one foot pushed forward but with his back forming a straight line, something characteristic of Egyptian sculpture, as is leaving the stone between the figure's legs. The manner in which the figure holds the arrows in his lowered right hand is also reminiscent of the Egyptian baton. The garment, the manner in which it falls giving it the appearance of a chiton, reveals similarities with the Egyptian loincloth, thanks to the fashioning of its lower edges. The figure's headgear is the Cypriot cap with tied-up cheekpieces and a neck guard. The face is characterized by Egyptian and Cypriot features. Two animals hang over each shoulder, one in front, one behind. The figure's left hand is crooked, holding a bow resting on his shoulder. The overall type of the statuette is neither Egyptian nor Cypriot. It bears a Greek inscription; while we cannot be certain as to how the original inscription ran in its entirety,⁵⁶³ we can say that it was a Greek who dedicated this statuette to Aphrodite, in whose temenos it was discovered.

Mixed Style examples with pronounced Egyptian features may be seen in the limestone woman's head with an Egyptian wig from the late seventh or early sixth century BC;⁵⁶⁴ a fragment from the head of a female statuette of limestone, the wig-like hairstyle of which is considerably flattened at the back and accordingly could well be Cypro-Egyptian in style;⁵⁶⁵ and the head of a small male statuette,⁵⁶⁶ possibly from either a kouros or a draped statuette. The treatment given the eyes, the wig, and the flesh show pronounced Egyptian influence.

⁵⁵⁷ London UCL (*SCE* iv 2, fig. 44); cf. Stockholm Cyprus Collection (*SCE* iv 2, fig. 45).

⁵⁵⁸ London UCL (*SCE* iv 2, figs. 46, 47); cf. *BMCS* i:2 C 41, 45, 48; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.3a.1891 (Budde and Nicholls, no. 22 pl. 4: Mixed Style of 2nd quarter of 6th c.).

⁵⁵⁹ *BMCS* i:1 B 459 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.14); cf. *SCE* iii, pl. 188.7; but female of a more compact shape.

⁵⁶⁰ *BMCS* i:1 B 462 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.3); cf. *Cesnola Atlas*, i, pl. 38.249, but female, compare better with standing examples.

⁵⁶¹ *BMCS* i:1 B 463 (*Naukratis* II, 58 pl. 14.7); cf. *BMCS* i:2, C 414, but clumsier; the piece from Naukratis depicts clear Cypriot features. Gardner argued for an Egyptian origin of this type; cf. Th. Hadzisteliou Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (1978), 161.32 type A.I.5a: Egypto-Phoenician type copied by Cyprus and East Greece.

⁵⁶² *BMCS* i:1 B 451 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 13.5); cf. *SCE* iv 2, 231.

⁵⁶³ *BMCS* i:1 fig. 229; cf. Bernard i 3, 745 no. 6 pl. 34.1.

⁵⁶⁴ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.1.1899 (Budde and Nicholls, no. 15 pl. 3).

⁵⁶⁵ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.2.1899 (Budde and Nicholls, no. 16 pl. 3).

⁵⁶⁶ *BMCS* i:1 B 440 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 17.2; Richter, *Kouroi*, 89: Tenea-Volomandra Group); cf. head from Arsos/Cyprus (*Samos* vii, pl. 128.26).

One limestone piece with clearly visible Egyptian features that may have been produced in Naukratis depicts a seated male with a box on his knees and a table with four fish in front of him.⁵⁶⁷ Should this statuette be interpreted as a trader? Or rather as a dedicant? In any event, we should seek its model in Egyptian art. A drummer⁵⁶⁸ also reveals features of Egyptian influence, which together with the coarseness of its execution indicates local origin.

Relief panels of sandstone or limestone depicting a lying nude woman⁵⁶⁹ occur frequently; the work is coarse in quality. They imitate the Astarte reliefs in type; one standing and several lying examples, the latter in terracotta, came to light at Naukratis.⁵⁷⁰ The suggestion of cushions behind the heads of some of these women makes it clear that they are lying down. Petrie⁵⁷¹ interpreted them as votive offerings before or after the birth of a child. I like to consider these a variant of the standing Astarte, which, reinterpreted as Aphrodite, was symbolic of the prostitution encountered in Naukratis. Any dating of the reliefs must be very imprecise, the terracottas being found not only in layers from the sixth century but also in Hellenistic and Roman levels.

Similarly difficult to date are the rough Baubo figures⁵⁷² with their sexual significance. All pictorial portrayals of the Baubo in Greece and Egypt are Hellenistic;⁵⁷³ there are clear differences in type between the two countries. Similarly, many phallic figures are said to have been found, the style of which is given as Egyptian.⁵⁷⁴

The riders represent a further group of figures which, while very coarse in execution, nonetheless presumably follow Greek models.⁵⁷⁵

A special form of the kouros may be seen in the 'Master of Animals',⁵⁷⁶ a

⁵⁶⁷ BMCS I:1 B 468 (Naukratis I, 13 pl. 2.20).

⁵⁶⁸ ABSA 5, 1898/9, pl. 14.6; cf. Naukratis I, 40, mentioned as a type frequently found.

⁵⁶⁹ Naukratis I, 40 pl. 19.7-9; ABSA 5, 1898/9 pl. 14.1-5; Boardman, *GO*³, 126, with fig. 145 (London BM EA 68821).

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. BMCT, no. 1542 in terracotta; ABSA 5, 1898/9, 82 nos. 49-56; and V.4.b, above; cf. Naukratis I, pl. 19.2 in stone.

⁵⁷¹ Naukratis I, 40; cf. W. F. Petrie, *The Funeral Furniture of Egypt, British School of Archaeology in Egypt. Egyptian Research Account* 59.8; W. F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (1890), 38 pl. 18.32-3, 37; Hadzisteliou Price, op.cit., 161 f.; cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 127ff. for comparison with Egyptian models from graves. It is considered that these female statuettes could have been meant as substitute wives in the other world. The statuettes from Naukratis were found in town, not in the sanctuaries (p. 129). If they were nevertheless votive offerings, as Petrie suggested, they could symbolize the *hetairai* as substitute wives.

⁵⁷² Naukratis I, 40 pl. 19.4; *JHS* 25, 1905, 128 f. fig. 8a.

⁵⁷³ Cf. LIMC iii 1 s.v. 'Baubo'; iii 2, 67 f. for figs.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 130.

⁵⁷⁵ Naukratis I, 40 pl. 19.5; ABSA 5, 1898/9 pl. 14.10-11 (no. 11 with inscription cf. ABSA 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 58); *JHS* 25, 1905, 129; Boardman, *GO*³, 126 fig. 144 (London BM EA 68835).

⁵⁷⁶ BMCS i:1 B 448 (Naukratis II, pl. 14.10); B 449 (Naukratis I, pl. 1.1); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam

nude youth gripping the hind legs and tail of a lion that hang down before his legs. The 'Master of Animals' model is of Near-Eastern origin; the lion is Syrian in type. In contrast, the nudity of the youth is a purely Greek characteristic. However, colour has been employed in the case of statuette B 335 from Rhodes to suggest a form of skirt. The manner in which the hair of certain examples is fashioned reveals clear Egyptian influence. It may be assumed that this type can only have originated in the Greek world, although one example stems from Cyprus, its head derived from the Mixed Style tradition.⁵⁷⁷ The alabaster piece B 449 could have been produced in Naukratis. Following the kouroi, its date must lie in the first half of the sixth century BC.

The discovery of kouros statuettes in Naukratis in the sanctuaries of Apollo and Aphrodite added new fuel to the speculation regarding Egyptian influence on the nude youth statues.⁵⁷⁸ These statuettes, most of them from local alabaster, are believed to have been produced in Naukratis, as is suggested by some incomplete pieces.⁵⁷⁹ Their characteristics are more those of miniature art than of large sculpture, and the relative lack of detail to be seen on their backs is reminiscent of Cypriot sculpture.⁵⁸⁰ Their facial features, their fleshier appearance, and their partly wig-like hairstyles clearly show them to have been more influenced by Egyptian models than is the case with many of the other kouroi.⁵⁸¹ In general, however, I concur with Edgar⁵⁸² when he characterized them as follows:

... they are copies, probably made in Naukratis, of types which, originally derived from Egypt, had already become Hellenized in the cities of the Aegean sea.

Richter lists three statuettes in her Sounion Group (615–590 BC),⁵⁸³ four

Museum GR.5.1899 (Budde and Nicholls, no. 19 pl. 4); cf. from Cyprus Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.3b.1891 (Budde and Nicholls, no. 17 pl. 3); from Rhodes (*BMCS* i:1 B 335 pl. 36, B 336 pl. 37, B 337 fig. 199); from Samos (*Samos* vii, c 212 pl. 101, c 228 pl. 98, c 156 pl. 99, c 158 pl. 100, c 186 pl. 100, c 97 pl. 100); from Dadia, now in Istanbul (*SCE* iv 2, 333 fig. 52).

⁵⁷⁷ Pace Schmidt, *Samos* vii, 57–9. 118, who assumed a Cypriot origin of this type. Gjerstad, *SCE* iv 2, 367, hesitated to ascribe this type to Cyprus.

⁵⁷⁸ Oxford G.69 (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9 pl. 14.7) reveals colour traces which represent an Egyptian loincloth.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. W. M. Davis, *JEA* 67, 1981, 76; statuettes of lime or sandstone gives Richter, *Kouroi*, nos. 29, 30, 89, and p. 74 without no.; H. Kyrieleis, in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean* (1991), 132 on limestone statuettes of Cypriot appearance found on Samos likely to have been produced at Naukratis.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (1977) 32; W. Déonna, *Les 'apollons archaïques'* (1907), 302–3, grouped nearly all kouroi found in Egypt into his *groupe chypriote*.

⁵⁸¹ Pace Davis, *JEA* 67, 1981, 76.

⁵⁸² Edgar, *Sculpture*, iv.

⁵⁸³ London BM B 438 (Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 28; *BMCS*, pl. 39); London BM B 444 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 1.4; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 29); London BM 1934.3–8.5 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 13.4; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 30).

examples in her Orchomenos-Thera Group (590–570 BC),⁵⁸⁴ and six statuettes in her Tenea-Volomandra Group (575–550 BC).⁵⁸⁵

The most famous of the kouros statuettes produced in Naukratis is the so-called ‘Golenischeff Kouros’,⁵⁸⁶ although it remains uncertain whether it was discovered in Naukratis; all that is known is that it formed part of a private collection in Cairo in 1887. Mention must also be made of the kouros from Sais,⁵⁸⁷ which perhaps originated from the Naukratis workshop, especially as it is of alabaster. Nor should we forget a kouros in Leipzig,⁵⁸⁸ classified by Rumpf as belonging to the ‘Naukratite School’⁵⁸⁹ (Plate 5b).

EXCURSUS: Cypriots at Naukratis?

Davis⁵⁹⁰ argues vigorously in favour of a Cypriot presence in Naukratis, yet his arguments appear doubtful upon closer examination of the material. The finds of Cypriot pottery which he cites⁵⁹¹ are not particularly numerous. Quite apart from the fact that little has been written concerning these relatively unattractive pieces,⁵⁹² the method adopted by the excavators whereby only those items of pottery were kept which were figure-painted or decorated with inscriptions will presumably have resulted in the loss of not a few pieces. Nevertheless, the number

⁵⁸⁴ London BM B 442 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.13; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 59); London BM B 441 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 1.3; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 60); Cairo no. 27426 (Edgar, *Sculpture*, pl. 1); Oxford (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9 pl. 14.7; Richter, *Kouroi*, 74 without no.).

⁵⁸⁵ London BM B 446 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 1.9; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 83); London BM B 443 (*BMCS*, fig. 224; Boardman, *GO*³, fig. 143; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 84); Boston 88.734 (L. D. Caskey, *Cat. Greek and Roman Sculpture in the MFA Boston* (1925), no. 1; M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (1976), no. 8 fig. 8; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 85); London BM B 439 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 1.5; Richter, *Kouroi*, 89 without no.); London BM B 440 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 17.2; Richter, *Kouroi*, 89 without no.); Boston 88.730 (Caskey, *op.cit.*, no. 2; Comstock and Vermeule, *op.cit.*, no. 7 fig. 7; Richter, *Kouroi*, 89 without no.); to be added Boston 88.1098 (Comstock and Vermeule, *op.cit.*, no. 9 fig. 9).

⁵⁸⁶ Moscow Pushkin Museum no. N1, 1a 3000 (G. Kieseritzky, *JDAI* 7, 1892, 179–84; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 82; C. Isler-Kerényi, in *Aus den Schatzkammern Eurasiens*, *Kunsthaus Zürich* (1993), 190f. with colour pl.).

⁵⁸⁷ Cairo 27425 (Edgar, *Sculpture*, pl. 1; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 81); cf. E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (1927), 137 no. 1 ascribed it to Chios.

⁵⁸⁸ Leipzig 5463 (A. Rumpf, in *Antike Plastik, Festschrift für W. Amelung* (1928), 217–22; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 58; R. Vollkommer, in *50 Meisterwerke Antikenmuseum Universität Leipzig* (1994), no. 33 for colour pl.).

⁵⁸⁹ W. Floren, in W. Fuchs and J. Floren, *Die griechische Plastik I* (1987), 416f., supposes local production, but does not consider a Naukratite school.

⁵⁹⁰ W. M. Davis, *GM* 35, 1979, 13–23; *id.*, *GM* 41, 1980, 7–19.

⁵⁹¹ Davis, *GM* 35, 1979, 16f.; *id.*, *GM* 41, 1980, 7f., the latter for evidence and comparisons.

⁵⁹² Davis, *GM* 41, 1980, 7 with n. 4 identifies *Naukratis* I, pl. 17.17, 20–1 as Cypriot pottery; cf. Cypriot amphorae: *Naukratis* I, 18 (Petrie’s class P); *SCE* iv 2, 241 with n. 4; Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 35–7.

of Cypriot examples can only have been minimal in comparison with that of Greek pottery; thus, it is well within the realm of probability that the former came to Naukratis on Greek ships.

The epigraphic material is limited to two inscriptions consisting of 3–4 Cypriot syllables on Attic black-glaze bowls; the earlier is from the last quarter of the fifth century BC.⁵⁹³ A fourth-century BC limestone base with feet still preserved⁵⁹⁴ which was found in the area of the Hellenion north of 5 (Figure 5) at the east–west wall reveals an inscription which appears to name a certain Sikon of Cyprus, a sculptor: Σίκω[ν ἐπ]οίη/σε Κύπ[ριος]./Ἀριστ[ίων] Ἡρακλεῖ. The probable fourth-century date takes this piece beyond the scope of this study. On the other hand, Sikon need not have worked in Naukratis himself, especially since he is not the dedicator.

The information supplied by Athenaios regarding Herostratos, who is said to have dedicated a Cypriot statuette to Aphrodite,⁵⁹⁵ is equally unsatisfactory as a basis for concluding a Cypriot presence in Naukratis. The literary evidence here merely attests to the Cypriot female statuettes discovered in no small quantity in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and could well be an *aition* to this fact. They appear to have been in fashion in the Greek world in the late seventh/early sixth century BC, for they can also be found on Samos and Rhodes.⁵⁹⁶ A closer study of the remaining pieces listed by Davis as Cypriot sculpture raises doubts about the assumed Cypriot origin; they might be rather Mixed Style.⁵⁹⁷

Given the absence of conclusive evidence confirming a Cypriot presence in Naukratis, we can only state that there must at all events have been lively connections between the Greeks and the Cypriots. However, we have to explain the Cypriot element in locally produced Mixed Style statuettes and alabastra. Do we have to presume a Cypriot sculptor at Naukratis adopting Egyptian and East Greek features or could an East Greek have adopted Egyptian as well as Cypriot features? We may postulate a sea-route to Egypt via Cyprus, albeit one for which

⁵⁹³ London BM 1900.2–14.17 (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 33, 56 no. 114 pl. 5; Johnston, no. 17); O. Masson, *Les inscriptions Chypriotes syllabiques* (1983), 353f. no. 370, acknowledges only this one, but 354 n. 2 for *Naukratis* II, 67 no. 864, one Cypriot syllable on Athenian pottery of 4th c.; cf. *SCE* iv 2, 469 n. 1; O. Masson, *BSE* 60, 1971, 33f., and Oxford G 141.29 4 Cypriot syllables on Attic black-glaze bowl (*JHS* 25, 1905, 17 no. 38; Bernard i 3, 709 no. 681 pl. 27.1).

⁵⁹⁴ London BM 1900.2–14.22 (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, pl. 14.9); cf. Bernard i 3, 746f. no. 9, 777 pl. 34.2; F. J. Marshall, *BM Inscriptions*, iv 2, no. 1081.

⁵⁹⁵ Athen. 15. 675f–676c, quoting Polycharmos (*FGHist* 640F1); cf. *Naukratis* II, 55f., 59; H. Cassimatis, *CCEC* 1, 1984, 33f. For Herostratos see I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus* (1976), 66 no. H21 (inscription from Lapithos 3rd c. BC); Shipley, 66f., 92 with n. 80. *LPGN* s.v. 'Herostratos' attests the name on Chios and elsewhere from the 4th c. on. The statuette is said to have come from Paphos, the oldest temenos of Aphrodite and even mentioned in Homer (*Hom. Od.* 8. 363). However, the Paphian Aphrodite cannot be easily identified with the Aphrodite Pandemos appearing in inscriptions from Naukratis (*Naukratis* II, 66 nos. 818+821; Bernard i 3, nos. 467, 470, 577, 630); cf. Davis, *GM* 41, 1980, 11. H. Cassimatis, *CCEC* 1, 1984, 34ff., concludes that Cypriots could have been among the first arriving at Naukratis.

⁵⁹⁶ *Samos* vii, pls. 47–53; *Lindos* i, pls. 66+92.

⁵⁹⁷ Davis, *GM* 35, 1979, 14 with n. 10; B447 is an imitation; B448 is a Greek type; B451 and Budde and Nicholls, no. 20, are Mixed Style; Walters, B328, 331, 332, 333 appear to be Mixed Style, however without figs.; *BMCT*, nos. 1543–1544 are Egyptianizing.

Greeks were responsible, as suggested by possibly Egyptian bronze situlae, scarabs, and scaraboids from the Naukratis workshop,⁵⁹⁸ and the many items of Greek pottery that have been found on Cyprus⁵⁹⁹—Ionian bowls, Chian chalices and amphorae, Wild Goat pottery, Fikellura ware—together with the identifiably Greek graffiti on Cypriot amphorae from Naukratis.⁶⁰⁰

f. *Miscellanea*

Alabastra

Alabastra have been found in Naukratis with their upper part in the form of a female statuette of Cypriot type.⁶⁰¹ Riis⁶⁰² assigns the type to his Group A ('Eastern Group'), comparing it with Neo-Cypriot statuettes; following Schmidt's chronology,⁶⁰³ this would give us a dating within the first half of the sixth century BC. Riis regards the entire series as dating to a period running from the end of the seventh century to around 525 BC. Production in Naukratis is conceivable, since the material used is typically Egyptian and the adoption of the Cypriot model plausible.⁶⁰⁴ The 'many thousands of alabaster drill cores' found by Petrie⁶⁰⁵ could then be seen as a result of the production of these alabastra.

Tridacna shells

Worked examples of *tridacna squamosa* have been found on many sites in the Levant and Greece.⁶⁰⁶ The concave inner side of the seashell remains without decoration, while the outer side and the umbo where the sphincter sat are covered with engravings. The umbo is fashioned into a female head with drilled pupils and beauty spots, gazing into the shell. Its head of curls is held by a kind of diadem that reaches down to the heart-shaped ears.

The external ornament may be divided according to Stucky into three

⁵⁹⁸ Reyes, 78f. assumes a Cypriot enclave at Naukratis.

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. E. Gjerstad, 'Pottery from Various Parts of Cyprus', in id., *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery Found in Cyprus*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, 26 (1977), pls. 14–22.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 37; von Bissing, *F&F* 25, 1949, 2, did not assume strong relations between Naukratis and Cyprus.

⁶⁰¹ *BMCS* i:1 B 464 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 14.11). B 465; Malibu J. Paul Getty Museum Acc. no. 78.AA.306 (S. K. Morgan, *GMusJ* 6–7, 1978/9, 199–202 figs. 1+2); cf. in terracotta *BMCT*, pl. 9 nos. 47+48 from Rhodes; London BM 1888.6–1.752(2) and (3) from Naukratis (not in *BMCT*, cf. here 45 n. 4). For Cypriot type: *SCE* iv 2, 291, 368 n. 1 pl. 8.2; *SCE* iv 2, 71 fig. 39.21; however, there are no alabastra on Cyprus yet.

⁶⁰² P. J. Riis, *AArch* 27, 1956, 23–33 A7 and A8.

⁶⁰³ *Samos* vii, 93–8.

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. Riis, *AArch* 27, 1956, 32f.; Morgan, *GMusJ* 6–7, 1978/9, 202.

⁶⁰⁵ *Naukratis* I, 15; however, Petrie connected these with the Apollo temple II (after 500 BC).

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, fig. 58 for a complete example from Rhodes.

groups.⁶⁰⁷ The shells of Group I are decorated with a winged being wearing a long belted garment, its head identical with the umbo. Group II shells also have wings along the long sides adjoining the umbo, but underneath is a medallion from which a bearded figure emerges, his right hand stretched upwards, his left pressed against his chest. The space between the wings and the medallion is decorated with sphinxes, griffins, birds, flowers, and palmettes. In Group III, the sculptured umbo is unconnected with the external decoration. A palmette network forms an axis under the head-shaped umbo. Archers or groups of horses are depicted in mirror-image on either side. Free spaces are decorated with floral motifs.

These shells will have been used in the preparation of cosmetics, something confirmed by their location in private houses or the sanctuaries of female divinities. They may be compared with cosmetic palettes, the handles of which are also in the form of a female head with a similar hairstyle.⁶⁰⁸

Naukratis has yielded one unworked and six or seven decorated examples of *tridacna squamosa*. One of them was discovered on the south side of the Sanctuary of Hera.⁶⁰⁹ Petrie's first campaign produced two further decorated examples,⁶¹⁰ together with the unworked one.⁶¹¹ Gardner then found two more shells, which are now in the British Museum.⁶¹² Hogarth published details of two further examples; one of them is in the Ashmolean Museum, while the other has not been located.⁶¹³

Seven decorated and eight unworked shells have been found in Cyrene.⁶¹⁴ Tell Defenneh and Memphis have each yielded one decorated shell, whereas various sites in Egypt have produced a number of unworked examples. Unworked shells are also known from Nimrud, Syria, Al Mina, Israel, and Jordan. Decorated shells have been found at Greek locations⁶¹⁵ in Delphi,⁶¹⁶ Perachora, Olympia, Old Smyrna (2), Samos (16), Kos, Kamiros, Lindos (10), and Aegina (5). Polished shells have been discovered

⁶⁰⁷ R. A. Stucky, 'The Engraved Tridacna Shells', *Dédalo* 19, 1974, 7-170; cf. R. Biggs, *JNES* 37, 1978, 350; D. S. Reese, *JNES* 47, 1988, 35-41; D. S. Reese and C. Sease, *JNES* 52, 1993, 109-28 for more pieces.

⁶⁰⁸ C.-M. Bennett, *Antiquity* 41, 1967, 197-201; B. Brandl, *Anatolian Studies* 34, 1984, 15-41 figs. 14+18.

⁶⁰⁹ *Naukratis* I, 35 pl. 20.16+16a; Stucky, *Dédalo* 19, 1974 no. 30.

⁶¹⁰ *Naukratis* I, 35 pl. 20.10+12.

⁶¹¹ *Naukratis* I, 35.

⁶¹² London BM 1888.6-1.87+88 (Stucky, *Dédalo* 19, 1974, nos. 32-3).

⁶¹³ *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 49 figs. 1a+1b; Stucky, *Dédalo* 19, 1974, nos. 34-5.

⁶¹⁴ Cf. Reese, *JNES* 47, 1988, 36; Stucky, *Dédalo* 19, 1974, 54f. see no. 86a; P. G. Warden, *Cyrene* iv, 60ff. nos. 465-6 (undecorated), nos. 467-73 (engraved), pls. 48-9.

⁶¹⁵ Reese, *JNES* 47, 1988, 38-41.

⁶¹⁶ Reese and Sease, *JNES* 52, 1993, 128, report that the pieces referred to by Stucky as nos. 72, 73, 74 all belong to one piece.

only in Lindos (4), and unworked ones only in Samos (2), Lindos (3), and Vroulia (2). The main concentrations thus come from Samos and Rhodes in Greece, along with Cyrene and Naukratis in North Africa.

Stucky⁶¹⁷ has dated the shells to the seventh century BC. He believes them to have been produced between c.675 and 600 BC, production peaking shortly after 650 BC. In this case, the shells would be among the oldest finds in Naukratis, with the proviso that their completion will not necessarily have been followed immediately by their dedication in sanctuaries. Indeed, it is more likely that they will first have been passed around as *exotica* and put to use—as evidenced by traces of colour—before ending up in their places of discovery.

The location of the shells' production centre remains a problem. The most varied suggestions have been made regarding their origin. Were they produced in Egypt,⁶¹⁸ in a mixture of Assyrian and Egyptian motifs?⁶¹⁹ Were they the output of Phoenicians⁶²⁰ working in Naukratis? Did they come from the hands of Ionians working in Egypt?⁶²¹ Or did they originate from a Cypriot workshop located in Naukratis?⁶²² The current trend would seem to favour their Syro-Phoenician origin.⁶²³

Barnett⁶²⁴ was the first to point out stylistic similarities between the products of Syrian workshops and the shells. The so-called Lyre-player seals,⁶²⁵ believed to be of North Syrian origin, have motifs in common with the shells. One is also reminded of the Assyrian bronze siren attachments from cauldrons found in Olympia, presumably of Syro-Hittite origin.⁶²⁶ However, they resemble only vaguely the motif. Stucky⁶²⁷ also sees the shells' distribution pattern as evidence in support of the thesis that they are of Syro-Phoenician origin. The shells appear in the Near East together with other craft products from Syria and Phoenicia; they are encountered in Asia Minor, on the islands, and in the Greek homeland together with Syrian products.

From a stylistic viewpoint, Egyptian and Assyrian motifs are blended here, resulting in a design common in the Near East, the origins of which

⁶¹⁷ Stucky, *Dédalo* 19, 1974, 90–5.

⁶¹⁸ Von Bissing, *AM* 37, 1912, 222.

⁶¹⁹ H. Thiersch, in *Aegina. Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, ed. A. Furtwängler (1906), 427f.

⁶²⁰ Petrie, *Naukratis* I, 35.

⁶²¹ C. Smith, in D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus* (1908), 184.

⁶²² *Lindos*, I, 176.

⁶²³ Cf. Stucky, *Dédalo* 19, 1974, 86; Boardman, *GO*³, 71.

⁶²⁴ R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Ancient Near East Ivories in the British Museum* (1957, ²1975), 44f.

⁶²⁵ J. Boardman and E. Buchner, *JDAI* 81, 1966, 23–62; J. Boardman, *AA*, 1990, 1–17.

⁶²⁶ Cf. H. Thiersch, in *Aegina* (1906), 427; H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympische Forschungen*, vi (1966), 51–68 figs. 15–16.

⁶²⁷ Stucky, *Dédalo* 19, 1974, 100–2.

are probably to be found along the Syro-Phoenician coast.⁶²⁸ Phoenician art reveals a particularly pronounced Egyptian influence; occasionally, it is only with difficulty that one can differentiate between it and Egyptian art. These shells could have reached Naukratis from the Syro-Phoenician coast through Phoenicians or Greeks. However, the fact that the shells originated from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf suggests that these 'exotica' will have had long transport routes.

g. Inscriptions

It has been estimated that over 1,500 inscriptions on pottery were found during the Naukratis excavations, the majority of them badly mutilated. Of these, 1,038 inscriptions were published immediately, the dipinti on Chian pottery and other inscriptions of lesser interest later.⁶²⁹ Notwithstanding this fact, what has been published of the inscriptions to date is inadequate; there are many inaccuracies, and often no details are given, or suggested, as to dialect or local alphabet or to the style of the particular fragment; accordingly, an identification of the pottery style can often only be tentative, using merely verbal descriptions or Petrie's old classifications. A new edition of the inscriptions on pottery would be desirable, one taking into consideration not only the current classification of pottery styles and their dating but also their local alphabets and their present location.

Most of the inscriptions are in fact monotonous,⁶³⁰ reproducing merely the name of the divinity to whom the vase was dedicated. However, the names of some dozens of dedicators⁶³¹ have also come down to us, in a few lucky cases with the respective *ethnikon*—even if the citizens of some poleis would appear to have been somewhat more generous with this information than those of others. Since we are concerned here with Archaic inscriptions, it is also possible in some cases to infer the origin of the dedicator from the local alphabet used. However, the inscriptions are often

⁶²⁸ Cf. Bennett, *Antiquity* 41, 1967, 200.

⁶²⁹ *Naukratis* I, 54–62 nos. 1–700; *Naukratis* II, 62–8 nos. 701–882; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 53–7 nos. 1–116; *JHS* 25, 1905, 116–18 nos. 1–40. R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 159–70 nos. 1–231, for the dipinti on Chian pottery. Bernard i 3, 711–18 nos. 686–766, and Johnston, nos. 3–14, 16–20, for further inscribed pieces. However, Bernard's large-scale book is disappointing, since he has simply collected the older editions, reproducing them uncritically without a closer look at the facsimile drawings or the original, both using the old names of pottery styles and not taking care with regard to local alphabets. The use of his book is made difficult by the lack of an index of inventory numbers, which are only partially given, and of plate numbers in the catalogue.

⁶³⁰ Cf. Austin, 24f. for the restricted value of the epigraphical evidence.

⁶³¹ P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, i (Oxford 1987) have included the inscriptions from Naukratis; however, names are too easily ascribed to Chios. N. Ehrhardt, *ZPE* 60, 1985, 141 n. 23, doubts the possibility of differentiating single poleis among the Ionian personal names. Cf. M. Torelli, *PP* 37, 1982, 304–26, esp. 316ff., for comparison with Gravisca.

too mutilated to allow any conclusive statement regarding the dialect and origin of the writer concerned. Likewise, the formal character of the dedications limits the number of words used.

It is only with difficulty that these inscriptions can be dated on the basis of the writing used;⁶³² as a result, one must in addition fall back upon a dating of the pottery styles employed; however, only in exceptionally rare cases can these be inferred from the material as published. Information on the styles would also enable us to draw conclusions regarding the variety of pottery transported and valued by the dedicators, something that the present lack of information renders possible only in individual cases.

It would be beyond the scope of this book to undertake a new edition of the entire epigraphical corpus, and I doubt that this would change the overall picture to a great extent. The following examples, given by poleis in the Herodotean order, will serve to verify Herodotus' information regarding the poleis involved in Naukratis. Additionally, some other selected inscriptions will be briefly discussed.⁶³³

Chios

In addition to the valuable edition of the dipinti on Chian pottery by R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead,⁶³⁴ much work has been done on the Chian figure-painted pottery, furthering the identification of the pottery style. However, the Chians used the East Ionic alphabet,⁶³⁵ making it difficult to distinguish them epigraphically from other Ionians unless they used their *ethnikon*.

1. The dipinti on Chian white-slip kantharoi and a few other shapes⁶³⁶ from the temenos of Aphrodite were published by Cook and Woodhead. Their script is homogenous and can be classified under the

⁶³² Cf. the attempt by G. Hirschfeld, *RhM* 44, 1889, 461-7.

⁶³³ The following inscriptions, though not the Chian dipinti, were verified in those cases where inventory numbers are known, by autopsy, the others by the facsimile drawings. The differences between editions are given in a 'critical apparatus'. The Appendix 1 contains also vase inscriptions which are not discussed here.

⁶³⁴ R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 159-70; cf. J. Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 56-9, 56 n. 5, for emendations and additions.

⁶³⁵ *LSAG*, 336-8 with fig. 46, 343 no. 43.

⁶³⁶ e.g. *Naukratis* II, 63f. pl. 21.739 (Berlin inv. 3150 (Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 16 pl. 34.1; Lemos no. 683*); belongs together with Cambridge 94-6.N.63 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 17.21; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 22)); pl. 21.740 (London BM 1924.12-1.717; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 79 pl. 35.19); pl. 21.741 (London BM 1924.12-1.808; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 157 pl. 35.27); pl. 21.742 (London BM 1924.12-1.584+728+846; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 64 pl. 34.15); pl. 21.743 (present location unknown; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 231); pl. 21.744 (London BM 1924.12-1.852; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 197 pl. 35.50); pl. 21.745 (London BM 1924.12-1.824; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 173 pl. 35.35); pl. 21.746 (London BM 1924.12-1.809; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 158 pl. 35.21); pl. 21.747 (London BM 1924.12-1.840 and Oxford 1888.218; id., *ABSA* 47, 1952, no. 188 pls. 34.4, 35.23). Cf. *LSAG*, 343 no. 42.

East Ionic alphabet.⁶³⁷ These kantharoi were made in the first half of the sixth century BC;⁶³⁸ whether at Naukratis itself or on Chios remains open to discussion.⁶³⁹

2. Besides painted inscriptions with the *ethnikon* ὁ Χῖος,⁶⁴⁰ there are also graffiti indicating the *ethnikon*:
 - (a) —]ης ὁ Χῖος (?Chian vase; *Naukratis* II, 63 pl. 21.706; Bernand i 3, 677 no. 357; *LSAG*, 343 no. 43)
 - (b) —]ω[— / ὁ Χῖο[ς (Chian vase, London BM 1888.6-1.361; *Naukratis* II, 64 pl. 21.757: ω omitted; Bernand i 3, 682 no. 408; *LSAG* 343 no. 43; cf. C. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 242 with n. 72: Teian on Chian pottery; cf. Appendix 1.f)
 - (c) —]ωνος τὸ Χίο τῶι Ἀπ(ὸ)λλο[νι (LWG vase; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 51 pl. 4: το(ῦ) Χίο(υ) τῶ Ἀπ(ὸ)λλω[νι; Bernand i 3, 700 no. 574: [ὁ δεῖνα ὁ —]λωνος; *LSAG* 343 no. 43; cf. Appendix 1.d)
 - (d) ὁ δεῖνα ὁ] Χῖος Ἀφ[ροδίτῃ (Athenian band cup, London BM 1900.2-14.7; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 60 pl. 5; Bernand i 3, 701 no. 583; *LSAG*, 343 no. 43; cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 242 with n. 72; cf. Appendix 1.b)
 - (e) —]Χῖος τῆφρο[δίτῃ (Athenian rf column krater, Brussels Mus. Cinq. A1810; *LSAG*, 343 no. 43; since the break is immediately before the *chi*, we might alternatively consider the ending of a personal name.⁶⁴¹ Cf. Appendix 1.b)

Like others, the Chians dedicated both their own pottery and pottery from other areas of production. However, Athenian vases were used at a time when local production of finer vases had ceased.

Teos

The Teians, in frequently using their *ethnikon*, are distinguishable from the other East Ionians, although the Teian alphabet shows no distinctive features.⁶⁴²

1. ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθη]κεν : τὰφρο[δίτῃ / —]ο : ὁ Τήμιος
(LWG bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.1261; *Naukratis* I, 62 pls. 6.5, 35.700 and *SGDI*, 5637: ὁ —]οῦ ὁ Τήμιος; Bernand i 3, 674 no. 329 and 676 no. 352; *LSAG*, 344 no. 59; cf. Appendix 1.d, and see Plate 2a)

⁶³⁷ Cf. Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 163.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 159 ff.

⁶³⁹ Cf. EXCURSUS: The production of Chian pottery at Naukratis.

⁶⁴⁰ Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 166 f. nos. 46, ?127 (and unnumbered frgt. D. M. Bailey, *ABSA* 65, 1970, 4 no. 8), 168, 171, 187.

⁶⁴¹ In the reverse index of *LGPN* ii (Attica), seven names are listed.

⁶⁴² *LSAG*, 340 f., 344 no. 59.

2. Ἐρμαγόρης μ' ἀνέθηκε ὁ Τ[ήμιος] / τῶπόλλωνι
(MWG III, Cairo 26152; *Naukratis* II, 68 pl. 20.876; *SGDI*, 5639; Bernand i 3, 673 no. 321 referring to *Naukratis* I, 17; *LSAG*, 344 no. 59)
The same personal name can be found on a rim frgt. of a ?Laconian kylix: Ἐρμαγ[όρης] (London BM 1886.4-1.650; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33-340; Ἐρμαγ[όρης]; Bernand i 3, 671 no. 301; Ἐρμαγ[όρης]; perhaps from the same piece as London BM 1886.4-1.651 (cf. Miletus no. 8).
3. ὁ δεῖνα ὁ Εὐτυλχίδεω [ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀ]φροδίτῃ ὁ Τήμιος
(?Corinthian column krater; *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.779; Bernand i 3, 684 no. 430; *SGDI* 5638: τὰφροδίτῃ; *LSAG*, 344 no. 59; cf. Appendix 1.a.)
4. ὁ δεῖνα ὁ Τήμιος [Ἀπόλλωνι
(Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.271; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.209; Bernand i 3, 660 no. 170; cf. Appendix 1.k no. 14)
5. Τ]εισαμ[ενοῦ] /
 υἱὸς —]όκλης [ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ὁ Τήμιος
(Chian vase, London BM 1888.6-1.360; *Naukratis* II, 64 pl. 21.758; Bernand i 3, 682 no. 409: [Τ]εισαμ[ενός] / —κλης— / —ιοτ—; cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 242 with n. 72; Austin, 61 f. n. 2)
We can probably complete another inscription on a ?black-glaze vase in the same way: Τεισά[μενος] — (*Naukratis* II, 66 pl. 21.805; Bernand i 3, 687 no. 453).

Apparently, the Teians dedicated vases from many different origins.

Phocaea

The Phocaeans used the East Ionic alphabet,⁶⁴³ and therefore can only be distinguished from other East Ionian people by their *ethnikon*.

1. On a ?Corinthian vase from the Temenos of the Dioskouri we can read the *ethnikon*:

ἀνέθηκ]εν ὁ Φωκαί[εύς

(*Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 35.666: -ένου Φωκαί[εύς ἀνέθηκεν; Bernand i 3, 675 no. 345; *SGDI*, 5622; *LSAG*, 345 no. 68)

2. Considerable uncertainty continues to surround the inscription on a bilingual eye-cup of Oltos (515–500 BC):

Φωκ]αιεύς

(Oxford G141.3; *JHS* 25, 1905, 116f. no. 39 fig. 2; Bernand i 3, 709 no. 682 pl. 26.1; cf. Appendix 1.b)⁶⁴⁴

3. Perhaps we may attribute the following inscription on a Chian vase to Phocaea:

⁶⁴³ *LSAG*, 341 with fig. 46.

⁶⁴⁴ The reverse dictionary by P. Kretschmer and E. Locker (1963) gives only Νεα]αιεύς as an alternative; this is attested only once in *Anthologia Graeca* (Beckby) ix, 353.4. No reference in *LGP*.

Καῖρος μ' [ἀνέ]θηκην [sic]

(London BM 1888.6-1.188 and 188b; *Naukratis* II, 63 pl. 21.717: μ' [ἀνέ]θηκεν; Bernand i 3, 678 no. 368; cf. Austin, 62 n. 2; cf. Appendix I.f)

Kaikos is known as a Phocaean personal name in the western colonies.⁶⁴⁵ From Egypt we have a graffito naming a Kaikos from Magnesia, presumably ad Sipylum, using the *eta*, which was only common in the southern part of Aeolis, perhaps as a result of Phocaean influence.⁶⁴⁶ Cultural assimilations are likely, as Phocaea was founded as an Ionian polis in the Aeolian region.⁶⁴⁷

If we accept these ascriptions to Phocaea, it is remarkable that Phocaeans dedicated different foreign pottery styles, although they are likely to have produced their own, such as Aeolian bucchero or bf vases related to Clazomenian.

Clazomenae

The Clazomenians used the East Ionic alphabet,⁶⁴⁸ again making it difficult to distinguish them from the other Ionian poleis. Only in cases where they used their *ethnikon* or perhaps—with reservations—their local pottery can one attempt to identify them.

Unfortunately, the only example of an *ethnikon* remains a little dubious, since the two fragments do not fit convincingly together. However, the combination of letters to make]AZOM[is rare otherwise:

ὁ Κ[λ]αζομ[ένιος]

(ABSA 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 55a-b pl. 4: two frgts. do not fit together so as to make ὁ Κλαζομένιος; Bernand i 3, 700 no. 578: a. OK, b. AZOM; LSAG, 345 no. 64)

Rhodes

Herodotus mentioned Rhodes as one of the poleis participating in the Hellenion at Naukratis. However, the epigraphical material⁶⁴⁹ is too restricted to identify Rhodians with certainty.

I. Τ[ελέσων] Πόδιο(ς) Ἀφρο[δίται]

(Athenian black-glaze bowl from the Hellenion, Oxford G 141.13; JHS 25, 1905, 117 no. 16: Ἀφρο[δίτηι; Bernand i 3, 707 no. 659 pl. 27.1: Ἀφρο[δίτηι]; cf. Austin, 62 n. 2)

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1965, 203 no. 507 (Massalia); L. Robert, *RA*, 1966, 220-2.

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. LSAG, 360f. no. 2 pl. 70.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. L. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* (1976), 227.

⁶⁴⁸ LSAG, 340f., 345 no. 64

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. LSAG, 346-50 with fig. 47 for alphabet.

2. The following inscriptions could possibly be connected with Rhodes, since the *omega* only appeared in the Rhodian alphabet in late Archaic times:
 - (a) [τδ]ι Ἀπόλλωνι (Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.136; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.207: Τῶ] Ἀπόλλωνι; Bernand i 3, 660 no. 168: τῶ]ι Ἀπόλλωνι; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 9)
 - (b) Ἀπολλωνο[s] (Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.819; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.315: Ἀπόλλωνος; Bernand i 3, 669 no. 276: [τῶπο]λλονό[s] ἐμι; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 13)
3. —[αι[—]ρας Ἀρταμί[τι] (black-glaze skyphos; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 85a-b; Bernand i 3, 703 no. 608; cf. Austin, 62 n. 2). This inscription is Doric, but not necessarily Rhodian.

The identification of Rhodians by means of their dedicatory inscriptions is difficult, because there were also other Doric-speaking people dedicating at Naukratis. The *ethnikon* Rhodios clearly already occurs before the synoikism of Ialysos, Lindos, and Camirus in 408/7 BC.⁶⁵⁰ The presence of people from Rhodes in Egypt is evidenced by an Ialysan at Abu Simbel.⁶⁵¹ Any identification of Rhodians by their local pottery is made more difficult by the fact that many pottery styles which were once located at Rhodes are now ascribed to other East Greek poleis.

Cnidus

The Cnidian alphabet⁶⁵² is easily distinguishable from other Doric local alphabets, presenting specific shapes of *omikron*, *omega*, and *eta*. Some of the Cnidian inscriptions are scratched on the special group of Ionian bowls called Cnidian.⁶⁵³

1. Χαρόφνης : με ἀνέ[θηκε τ]ἀπό[λλωνι τῶι Μ]ιλασίῳ
(Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.681-2; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.237; Bernand i 3, 662 no. 198: *Καρόφνης με ἀνέθηκε τἀπό[λλωνι τῶι Μ]ιλασίῳ* without recognizing the Cnidian alphabet; *LSAG*, 357 no. 32a pl. 68: *Χαροφνης . . . ανε[θηκε . . .*; according to the BM catalogue, the fragment [θηκε τ] was lost before it came to the BM; Johnston, no. 15; Prinz, 83; cf. *SGDI*, 5759 com.: *Χαποφάνης*; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 1)
2. Θεο]θέμιός ἡμι κ[ύλιξ
(Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.684; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.239;

⁶⁵⁰ On a large Athenian black-glaze stand from the 5th c. (Berlin inv.-no. 2952; *IG* xii 1, 728; *JHS* 6, 1885, 377 lot 743; *JDAI* 1, 1886, 153). Thuk. 8. 44 also uses the term *rhodioi* for the time before the synoikism. Cf. Austin, 62 n. 2.

⁶⁵¹ ML, 78.

⁶⁵² *LSAG*, 350ff. with fig. 47.

⁶⁵³ Cf. V.4.a. Ionian Bowls.

- Bernand i 3, 663 no. 200: $\kappa[\alpha\iota \text{ ---}]$; *LSAG* 357, no. 32b; Prinz, 83; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 2)
3. $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron$ [— (Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.708; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.354; Bernand i 3, 672 no. 315: — $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron$ —; *LSAG*, 357 no. 32c; Prinz, 83; cf. Appendix 1.k no. 3)
4. $\text{Ἀφρ}[\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota \text{ ho[—}]$
 (Athenian rf kylix, *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 93 pl. 5; Bernand i 3, 703 no. 616; cf. Austin, 62 n. 2: Dorian) The inscription is possibly written in the Cnidian alphabet.

The presence of Cnidians at Naukratis is well proved through their dedicatory inscriptions.

Halicarnassus

Herodotus mentioned Halicarnassus together with the other Dorian poleis at Naukratis. However, we know that this polis had used the Ionic dialect since Archaic times.⁶⁵⁴ A local alphabet in East Ionic script cannot be proved before the second quarter of the fifth century, which is too late to be of use for the material from Naukratis. Up to now, the epigraphical material has not enabled an identification of Halicarnassians at Naukratis.⁶⁵⁵

Phaselis

Little is known of the Phaselians in Archaic times and there is no inscription at Naukratis which can be ascribed to Phaselis. Apart from one Archaic inscription reported by the Turkish excavators⁶⁵⁶ the only better known epigraphical evidence is the dedicatory inscription at Delphi, which is written using the Phocian alphabet and dated to c.425–400 BC, and a psephima from Athens (469–450 BC) dealing with juridical relations between Athenians and Phaselites in Ionic writing.⁶⁵⁷

Mytilene

Mytilenians are easily identified by their inscriptions, since their local alphabet⁶⁵⁸ shows specific traits, as does the Aeolic dialect.⁶⁵⁹ Frequently, they give their *ethnikon*.

1. The following inscription on an Aeolian bucchero fragment seems to be typical, as there are several other examples⁶⁶⁰ which preserve parts of it:

⁶⁵⁴ *LSAG*, 353. ⁶⁵⁵ For Phanes cf. *Varia* no. 6 below.

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 89, 1985, 561.

⁶⁵⁷ Delphi Mus. 3970; *LSAG*, 103f. no. 19; Buck, 239 no. 51 and ML, 31.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. *LSAG*, 359f.

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. R. Hodot, *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie. La langue des inscriptions VIIe s.a.C. – IVe s.p.C.* (1990) (=Hodot)

⁶⁶⁰ *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.787 (Bernand i 3, 685 no. 438), pl. 21.789 (Bernand I 3, 686 no. 440),

- (a) $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta[\theta]\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\hat{\alpha}\iota\ \mathcal{A}[\phi\rho\omicron\delta\iota]\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \mu\upsilon\tau\iota\lambda\epsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$
(London BM 1888.6-1.634 (A637); *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.788;
Bernand i 3, 685 no. 439; *LSAG*, 361 no. 4; Johnston, no. 1; Hodot,
MYT 101.1; cf. Appendix 1.m. no. 1)

Probably belonging to the same vase is

—]δικλῆς [κᾰθ]θεκε δ — / .EEM—

(London BM 1888.6-1.635; *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.789 and 792;
Bernand i 3, 686 no. 440: — .ι.κ... κᾰθ[θ]εκε δ — and no. 443: ...λε
ἐμ[ἐ κᾰθθεκε]; Johnston, no. 1; Hodot, *MYT* 101.3 and 101.11, for
the latter cf. Hodot, 133 n. 29; cf. Appendix 1.m. no. 1).

- (b) A further example is given in

$\mu\epsilon\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\theta\epsilon[\kappa\epsilon]\ \delta\ \mu\upsilon\tau[\iota\lambda\epsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$

(London BM 1888.6-1.612a-c (A639); *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.790;
Bernand i 3, 686 no. 441; *LSAG*, 361 no. 4; Johnston, no. 2; Hodot,
MYT 101.2; cf. Appendix 1.m. no. 2)

2. We can ascribe the dedicator Nearchos to Mytilene on account of the local alphabet and the dialect of the inscription:

$\mathcal{N}\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}[\theta\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\omicron]\iota\varsigma\ \mathcal{A}[\iota\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$

(Aeolian bucchero, *Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.840: κα[τέθηκε; Bernand i 3,
691 no. 489: κᾰ[θθηκε; *LSAG*, 360: *Νεαρχος με και Σα*—], Jeffery did
not consider the gap; Hodot, 45 n. 24 *MYT* 101.7)

3. On a fragment of Aeolian bucchero we find the cult title of Apollo on Lesbos.⁶⁶¹

$\mathcal{M}[\alpha\lambda\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron]\varsigma$

(*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.786: *M*]αλόεις Ἰο...; Bernand i 3, 685 no. 437
pl. 22.1; L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.* 5, 1964, 227; Hodot, 278 *MYT* 101.6)

Though we know of a settlement in the *peraia* of Mytilene called Maloeis,⁶⁶² it seems doubtful that the people from there would have called themselves Maloeisioi and not Mytilenians. However, we may well have here a personal name, the interpretation favoured by René Hodot.⁶⁶³

4. Another votive offering given to Apollo is an Ionian bowl with an Aeolic inscription:

—α]ντίας : κᾰθ(θ)εκε τᾰι [Ἀπόλλωνι

(London BM 1886.4-1.267; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.185: κᾰθηκε τᾰ; *DGE*

pl. 21.791 (Bernand i 3, 686 no. 442 wrong inv.-no.). Cf. Appendix 1.m. Not on Aeolian bucchero: *Naukratis* II, 66 pl. 21.807 ('black and red' bowl, Bernand i 3, 687 no. 455; cf. Austin, 62 n. 2); *JHS* 25, 1905, 116f. no. 40 (Bernand i 3, 710 no. 683).

⁶⁶¹ In Hellanikos *FGHist* 4F33 apud Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μαλόεις*, we find evidence for the cult title of Apollo on Lesbos and the site of the sanctuary. Cf. *IG* xii 2, 484. 19-20. Thuk. 3. 3.

⁶⁶² *IG* xii 2, 74. 5, 16; cf. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (?1962), 172 with 413. Cf. Thuk. 3. 50.

⁶⁶³ Hodot, 224 n. 109.

- 647a: *Ἀντίας*; Bernand i 3, 657 no. 146; *LSAG*, 361 no. 4; Hodot, *MYT* 101.4; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 10)
5. The following inscriptions may be in the Mytilenian alphabet, since they show *epsilon* instead of *eta* after the *theta*:
- (a) *κάθθ]θεκε* (tiny frgt. with red slip inside, London BM 1886.4-1.249; *Naukratis* I, 66 pl. 32.191: *ἀνέ]θηκε*; Bernand i 3, 658 no. 152: *ἀνέ]θεκε*)
- (b) *κάθθ]εκαν* ?*Κλεψ[ί]ας καὶ* — (rim frgt. of large plate, London BM 1886.4-1.671; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 33.236: *ἀνέθ]ηκαν*; Bernand i 3, 662 no. 197: *[ἀνέθ]ῆκαν*)
6. We know of a limestone base found in the Hellenion dedicated by a Mytilenian. Since we neither know its present location nor have a facsimile drawing, we cannot estimate its date. On the basis of the genitive ending -ο, I assume a date before the Hellenistic period.
- Δεινόμαχος / Τερφηίο / Μυτιληναῖος / Ἀφροδίτῃ*
- (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 38; Bernand i 3, 745 f. no. 7; *LGPNI*, s.v. *Τερφήϊος* (1): sixth century BC)

The Mytilenians are clearly represented in the epigraphical material⁶⁶⁴ and we may note that they did not dedicate exclusively their local Aeolian bucchero.

Aegina

On Aegina, an alphabet very similar to the Athenian was used though for a Doric dialect. The Aeginetans probably adopted their alphabet very early from the same source as the Athenians.⁶⁶⁵

1. On Aegina, Chian white-slip kantharoi with dipinti have been found⁶⁶⁶ which have parallels in dipinti from Naukratis;⁶⁶⁷ unfortunately, there are no distinctive Aeginetan features.⁶⁶⁸ A certain Aristophantos appears at both places, and it seems likely that Aeginetans dedicated Chian white-slip kantharoi at Naukratis.
2. The following inscriptions have some details which might point to Aeginetan origin, as there are no *omegas* or double consonants, and *sigma* is written three-stroked.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Hodot, *MYT* 101.5, 6, 8–10, 12–15 for further fragments.

⁶⁶⁵ *LSAG*, 109–13 with fig. 32. For a discussion of the Sostratos inscription cf. Varia no. 2 below.

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. D. Williams, *AA* 1983, 169–78; *Aegina* 1, 478 ff. pl. 129; Price, 202f.; Boardman *ABSA* 51, 1956, 59; A. W. Johnston, *BICS* 21, 1974, 96–8.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. EXCURSUS: The production of Chian pottery at Naukratis.

⁶⁶⁸ *LSAG*, 110. However, the shape of *alpha* is common on Aegina.

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. the Sostratos inscription from Gravisca (M. Torelli, *PP* 26, 1971, 55–60; A. W. Johnston, *Horos* 7, 1989, 131–5) for these features.

- (a) τὰ πόλο[νο]ς (Ionian bowl of Cnidian type, London BM 1886.4-1.402; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.257: τὰ πόλλωνος; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 218: τὰ πόλ(λ)ω[νος]; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 4)
- (b) τὰ πόλονος (Ionian bowl of Cnidian type, London BM 1886.4-1.657; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.258: τὰ πόλλωνος; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 219: [τὰ] πόλ(λ)ονος; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 5)
- (c) τὰ πό[λ]ονός ἐ[μι] (Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.373; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.275: Ἀπόλλωνός ἐμι; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 236: [Ἀπόλ]λωνός ἐμ[ι]; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 7)
- (d) τὰ πόλον[ος] (Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.310; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.250: τὰ πόλων[ος]; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 211: τὰ πόλ(λ)ον[ος] ἐμι; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 6)

The identification of Aeginetans by means of the epigraphical material cannot therefore be securely substantiated.

Samos

The local alphabet of Samos is not much different from those of other East Ionian poleis, although we perhaps find the rounded legless *rho* a little more often here.⁶⁷⁰ Since we do not have much positive evidence, we have to identify by excluding other possibilities. Usually, the inscriptions to Hera have been ascribed to Samos, but we may ask why should dedicants from other poleis not have given an offering to the Samian Hera?

1. It is very likely that the so-called Hera cups with painted inscriptions such as Ἡρῇ (*Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.847-8; Bernand i 3, 692 no. 496-7) were produced at Samos.⁶⁷¹ However, the graffito Ἡρῇ on a Hera cup (*Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.846; Bernand i 3, 692 no. 495), on 'red and black' kylikes (*Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.841-4; Bernand i 3, 691 nos. 490-3), and on an Ionian bowl (London BM 1910.2-22.60; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 34.447; Bernand i 3, 674 no. 336) and the graffito Ἡρῇ on a 'red and black' kylix (*Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.845; Bernand i 3, 692 no. 494) cannot be ascribed with certainty to Samos. Some of these inscriptions show the legless *rho*, which might point to Samos, but the others can only be called East Ionic.
2. The most famous inscription said to be Samian belongs to Rhoikos, who might be the Samian architect:

Ροῖφος μ' ἀνέθηκε τ[ῇ] Ἀφρ]οδίτῃ

(triple eye-bowl, London BM 1888.6-1.392 (AI260); *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 7.1, 21.788; Bernand i 3, 684 no. 429; *LSAG*, 328 with n. 5; cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 242 with n. 72; cf. Appendix 1.h).

⁶⁷⁰ *LSAG*, 328-31 with fig. 46, 341 no. 3a-b.

⁶⁷¹ Cf. V.4.a, Hera cups.

Whether this bowl belonged to the famous Samian architect is a much-debated question. The bowl itself is likely to have been produced in the North Ionian area and can be dated to the first quarter of the sixth century BC. However, the personal name Rhoikos is not very rare and appears five times according to O. Masson, who does not agree with the identification of the Samian architect with the dedicator of the Rhoikos bowl.⁶⁷²

(a) the Samian architect,⁶⁷³ (b) the Rhoikos of the eye-bowl from Naukratis, (c) a Milesian *stephanephoros*, son of a Rhoikos, of the fourth century BC,⁶⁷⁴ (d) an Athenian from the beginning of the fourth century BC,⁶⁷⁵ and (e) a minting official from Aeolian Kyme.⁶⁷⁶

If Rhoikos built the first Hera temple on Samos between c.580 and 560 BC,⁶⁷⁷ it would have been possible for him to dedicate this bowl at Naukratis.

The Samians are not easily identified by the epigraphical material; however, the temenos of the Samian Hera confirms their presence.

Miletus

According to Herodotus,⁶⁷⁸ the Milesians built a temenos for Apollo at Naukratis. The existence of the temenos has been proved by several dedicatory inscriptions. However, whether all of these can be ascribed to Milesians⁶⁷⁹ remains uncertain.

1. Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυ[μεῖ]
(Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.262; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.164; Bernand i 3, 655 no. 125; cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 10)
2. ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθ[ηκε] τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ [Μ]ιλησί(ωι)
(?dinos London BM 1886.4-1.82a-b; *Naukratis* I, 60 pl. 32.2; Bernand i 3, 642 no. 4; *boustrophedon*)
3. ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθ[ηκε] τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Μιλ]ησίωι

⁶⁷² O. Masson, *RDAC*, 1982, 151.

⁶⁷³ Hdt. 3. 60.

⁶⁷⁴ *Milet* i 3 (1914) 255 no. 122 II 33, cf. 89.

⁶⁷⁵ *IG* ii², 1928. 15.

⁶⁷⁶ O. Masson, *RN* 28, 1986, 61.

⁶⁷⁷ A. Furtwängler, *AM* 99, 1984, 97-103, basing himself on Herodotus, considers Rhoikos to be the architect of the Polykrates Hera temple, not of the first dipteron. This is followed by H. Svenson-Evers, *Die griechischen Architekten archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (1996) 47ff. If this holds true, the bowl would be too early. Cf. V.3.a.

⁶⁷⁸ Hdt. 2. 178.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. *LSAG*, 342 no. 28, where *Naukratis* I, pls. 32-3 is ascribed wholesale to Miletus; cf. Austin, 61f. nn. 1f. Further examples in *JHS* 25, 1905, 117 no. 18 (Oxford G 141.8), no. 19 (Oxford G 141.37), Bernand i 3, 717 no. 755 (London BM 1886.4-1.492 unpublished).

- (rim frgt. of an East Greek black-glaze bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.562; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.99; Bernand i 3, 648 no. 61; cf. Appendix 1.n)
4. ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε τῶπόλλωνι τῷ Μιλησίῳ
(Athenian early bf olpe, London BM 1886.4-1.737 (B102.2); *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 33.219; Bernand i 3, 661 no. 180; cf. Appendix 1.b)
5. Ἀπόλλωνός ἐ[μ]ι Μιλησίῳ
(?Corinthian column krater, London BM B102.1 (a) 1886.4-1.672, (b) 1886.4-1.673, (c) 1924.12-1.1306; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 33.234: ἐ[μ]ι Μιλησί[ου]; Bernand i 3, 662 no. 195: ἐ[μ]ι τοῦ Μιλησί[ου])
6. Ἀπόλλωνός ἐμι τῷ Μιλησίῳ
(Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.239; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.110: εἰμι τοῦ Μιλησίου; Bernand i 3, 649 no. 72; according to Buck, 28 ff., τῷ would indicate Doric, but compare (7) for τῷ and Ionic form of 'Milesian'. cf. Appendix 1.k. no. 12)
7. Ἀπόλλωνός ἐμι τῷ Μιλησίῳ
(*Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 33.233: εἰμι τοῦ Μιλησίου; Bernand i 3, 662 no. 194: Μιλη[σι]ο)
8. τῶπόλλωνος τοῦ Μιλησίου
or Ἀπόλλωνός ἐμι τῷ Μιλησίῳ
(?Laconian vase, London BM 1886.4-1.651; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.341; Bernand i 3, 671 no. 302; perhaps from the same piece as London BM 1886.4-1.650)⁶⁸⁰ (cf. Teos no. 2)
9. On a vase fragment from Naukratis we find an Ἐ[ρ]μοκράτης (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.773; Bernand i 3, 684 no. 424). A Hermokrates, father of a Hekataios, is listed in the register of the *stephanephoroi* from Miletus for the year 495/4 BC.⁶⁸¹ There is a Hellenistic brazier lug from Naukratis giving the name Hekataios in the genitive form: Ἡκαταίου (London BM 1886.10-5.2; *Naukratis* I, 42; Bernand i 3, 676 no. 353).

Varia

1. Two graffiti bearing the name Herodotus have no relationship with the famous historian, who is said to have travelled to Egypt. The dates of the vases do not coincide with his lifetime.⁶⁸²
- (a) [τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων] Ἡρόδο[τος]
(Athenian rf cup type C of the Euergides Painter, Oxford G141.15; CVA (1) iii, 1 pl. 14.21 late sixth century; ARV² 93.93; *JHS* 25, 1905, 116 no. 5 not from the Hellenion; Bernand i 3, 706 no. 648; Gill 1986, 184 f. no. 1 fig. 1); cf. Appendix 1.b)

⁶⁸⁰ Not included in Appendix 1.c.

⁶⁸¹ *Milet* i 3 (1914) 255 no. 122 I 32.

⁶⁸² D. W. J. Gill, *JHS* 106, 1986, 184-7.

(b) *H[ρο]δότου*

(Athenian black-glaze kantharos, Oxford G141.2; *JHS* 25, 1905, 116 no. 6 from the Hellenion; Bernand i 3, 707 no. 649; Gill, *JHS* 106, 1986, 185 ff. no. 2 fig. 2 early fourth century; cf. Appendix 1.b)

2. The home polis of the Sostratos who dedicated the Aphrodite bowl at Naukratis points to Chios rather than to Aegina.

Σώστρατος μ'ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν τῇφροδίτῃ

(Chian WG bowl, London BM 1888.6-1.456; *Naukratis* II, pls. 6.1-2, 21.701; Bernand i 3, 676 no. 355; Lemos, no. 252*; cf. Appendix 1.f)

This Sostratos is unlikely to be the Aeginetan trader mentioned by Herodotus,⁶⁸³ since the latter lived around 500 BC and this inscription is dated by the vase to around 600 BC. The inscription is written in the Ionic dialect in the East Ionic alphabet. Judging from its script, it could well have been written by a Chian, which might be confirmed by the style of the vase. On Chios this personal name is attested from the end of the fifth century on, and it becomes more common in the Hellenistic period.⁶⁸⁴

3. *Ἀφροδίτῃ Νε(ι)λόμανδρος [ἀνέθηκεν]*

(Laconian kylix of the Naukratis Painter of 565-560 BC, Oxford 1888.1325; *Naukratis* II, 64 pl. 21.766: *Νεγόμανδρος*; Bernand i 3, 683 no. 417: *Νεγόμανδρος*; Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 61 n. 8: *Νε(ι)λόμανδρος* according to Jeffery, as quoted by Boardman in his article, from personal communication; cf. Appendix 1.c. no. 2)

The suggestion that this may be a Cyrenaic inscription⁶⁸⁵ can be proved wrong on grounds of its Ionic dialect and East Ionic alphabet.

4. —]ου[— *Ἀφροδίτῃ* : *τῇ ἐ(ν) Ναυκράτι*

(large rimless LWG bowl, London BM 1888.6-1.531, inscription painted in white on the inside before firing; *Naukratis* II, 64f. pl. 21.768:]ου[,]οχ[,]οψ[; Bernand i 3, 683 no. 419: *ἐναυκράτι*; *SGDI*, 5767; cf. Cook and Woodhead, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 161 n. 12; cf. Appendix 1.d)

The fact that a LWG-style vase was dedicated to Aphrodite at Naukratis before firing raises the question whether vases were specially produced at home or whether pieces of this style were produced at Naukratis, too.

5. A certain Charmes dedicated at least three LWG plates at Naukratis:

(a) *Χάρμ[ης με ἀνέθηκε] τῇ[φροδίτῃ εὐχ]ωλήν* (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.776 and Bernand i 3, 684 no. 427: *τῇ[ι Ἀφροδίτῃ εὐ]χωλήν*)

(b) *Χά[ρμης με ἀνέθηκε] τῇφροδίτῃ εὐχωλήν* (London BM 1888.6-

⁶⁸³ Hdt. 4. 152; cf. IV.2.b. for further discussion.

⁶⁸⁴ *LGPN* i, s.v. *Σώστρατος*.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 61 n. 8; Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 242 with n. 72.

1.395a-c (A995); *Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.777; Bernand i 3, 684 no. 428 pl. 28; *SGDI*, 5766; cf. Appendix 1.d)

- (c) Χάρμ[η]ς με [ἀνέθηκε τῇφροδίτῃ εὐχολήν (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.771; Bernand i 3, 684 no. 422)

The personal name Charmes appears both on Thasos (fourth century BC),⁶⁸⁶ which has connections with Chios, and on Chios itself.⁶⁸⁷

6. Φάνης με ἀνέθηκε τῶπόλλων[ι τῶι Μι]λησίῳι ὁ Γλαῦρο
(East Greek black-glaze dinos, London BM 1886.4-1.677-8; *Naukratis* I, 18 pl. 33.218 and *SGDI*, 5759; ὁ Γλαῦρον; Bernand i 3, 661 no. 179, 673 no. 323 pl. 28.1, cf. 769; cf. Austin, 62 n. 2; cf. Appendix 1.n no. 2)

Without a precise dating of the vase, it is impossible to decide if it was the same Phanes from Halicarnassus dedicating this piece at Naukratis who led the mercenaries when leaving Amasis for Cambyses in 525 BC.⁶⁸⁸ It might have been the same Phanes for whom three electrum coins, one of them bought in Halicarnassus, were minted.⁶⁸⁹

His father's name, Glaukos, is not of much help either, because it is known from different poleis on the Asia Minor coast in later times.⁶⁹⁰ However, the famous Homeric Glaukos comes from Lycia.⁶⁹¹ At Naukratis, three inscriptions with this name were found, presumably not from one and the same hand:

- (a) ἀνέθηκ[ε] Γλαῦκ[ος] (rim frgt. of rimless bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.813; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.309; Bernand i 3, 669 no. 270; cf. Appendix 1.h)

- (b) [Γ]λαῦκ[ος ἀνέθηκε] (rim frgt. of a closed unglazed vase, London BM 1886.4-1.805; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.301; Bernand i 3, 668 no. 262)

- (c) Γλαῦκος μ' ἀνέθ[ηκε] τῇρ[ῃ] (?Hera cup; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 54 no. 20; Bernand i 3, 697 no. 542)

7. The following inscription is occasionally considered to be Cyrenaean, since the personal name Philammon is to be found in the Cyrenaïca in Hellenistic times.⁶⁹² However, the article is unaspirated and Aphrodite is given in the Ionic dialect.

Ἀφροδίτῃ ὁ Φιλάμμων

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (1917), 469 (*IG* xii 8, 282. 18).

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. *LGP* i, s.v. Χάρμης.

⁶⁸⁸ Hdt. 3. 4, 11. Cf. *Naukratis* I, 55; Austin, 62 n. 2 remains sceptical.

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. *LSAG* 353, 378; Head, *BM Guide Coins*, 6 fig. 1; Boardman, *GO*³, 101 fig. 118; P. R. Franke and R. Schmitt, *Chiron* 4, 1974, 1-4.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. *LGP* i, s.v. Γλαῦκος; Hdt. 1. 25 mentioned a Chian called Glaukos.

⁶⁹¹ Hom. *Il.* 6. 119-211.

⁶⁹² Cf. Boardman, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 61 n. 8; Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 242 with n. 72. Cf. *LGP* i, s.v. Φιλάμμων.

(Laconian kylix by the Boreads Painter, London BM 1888.6-1.529 (B7.5.1-2) of around 570 BC; *Naukratis* II, 64 pl. 21.767 and Bernand i 3, 683 no. 418: $\Phi[\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}]\mu\mu[\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma]$; cf. Appendix 1.c. no. 8)

8. On an Athenian bf vase, possibly a band cup,⁶⁹³ we can read the personal name

$\Upsilon\beta\lambda\eta\sigma[\iota\omicron\varsigma]$

(*Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.854: $\Upsilon\beta\lambda\eta\varsigma$; Bernand i 3, 693 no. 502)

The personal name Hyblesios appears frequently in a Samian context.⁶⁹⁴ However, Torelli considers Hyblesios as originating from Phaselis.⁶⁹⁵ If we read the name as $\Upsilon\upsilon\beta\lambda\eta\sigma[\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, there might be a link to Caria.⁶⁹⁶ The whereabouts of the piece are unknown, and we cannot say if the name was any longer than the letters we have.

9. A coarse big amphora with yellowish slip (?Chian) bears the following inscription:

$]\nu\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\pi\lambda\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ [\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon]$

(London BM 1886.4-1.503; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.326: $Να(ύπλι)ός\ μ\epsilon\ [\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon]$; Bernand i 3, 670 no. 287: $Να\upsilon[κλ]\omicron\varsigma$)

Since the reading Nauklos is wrong, we can forget about speculations connecting this piece with Teos, which was founded by a certain Nauklos.⁶⁹⁷

10. Several times we have the personal name Protarchos, which appears at many other places in the Greek world.⁶⁹⁸ The following inscriptions have been tentatively ascribed by LGPN i to Chios; however, the once-proposed connection with Miletus⁶⁹⁹ seems now to be confirmed by recent evidence which links Fikellura with Miletus.

- (a) $\Pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau[\alpha]\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ [\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\iota}\omega\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega[\nu\iota]$

(Fikellura vase, London BM 1886.4-1.779a-h; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.177; Bernand i 3, 656 no. 138; cf. Appendix 1.e)

- (b) $\Pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$

(Fikellura vase, Leipzig T3482; *Naukratis* I, 17; Bernand i 3, 673 no. 322; cf. Appendix 1.e)

- (c) $\Pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\rrho\chi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa[\epsilon]$

(Ionian bowl, London BM 1886.4-1.366; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.186; Bernand i 3, 657 no. 147) The script is a little different from (a).

⁶⁹³ Cf. M. Torelli, *PP* 37, 1982, 319.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. N. Ehrhardt, *ZPE* 60, 1985, 141 with n. 22 for older literature. Add H. Solin, *PP* 36, 1981, 187 and M. Nafissi, *PP* 38, 1983, 419f with n. 8.

⁶⁹⁵ Torelli, *PP* 37, 1982, 325.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (1964), §494: Carian (*BCH* 4, 1880, 296ff. B Halik. V a).

⁶⁹⁷ Strab. 14. 1. 3 (C633).

⁶⁹⁸ LGPN, s.v. $\Pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\rrho\chi\omicron\varsigma$.

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (1917), 386.

Evaluating the epigraphical material we can say that some of the poleis mentioned by Herodotus are well attested, as Chios, Teos, Cnidus, and Mytilene, be it by their *ethnikon* or by their specific local alphabet.

VI

Naukratis as 'Port of Trade'

This chapter is devoted to an interpretation of the written sources alongside the archaeological material discussed above. It will proceed by way of an investigative account (*untersuchende Darstellung*), one kind of historiography distinguished from other historical narratives by Johann Gustav Droysen, the German historian. Droysen¹ regarded this way of writing history as especially suitable for those historical periods in which the evidence at hand is scarce and garbled. An investigative account proceeds on the premise that the result still has to be found; it is not a record of the steps actually followed by the historian in his investigation, but a reconstruction of this investigation in terms of the principles underlying it. My account will therefore reproduce the process of scrutiny as guided by the 'port of trade' model which I have adopted.

I. THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

Naukratis is mentioned in a multitude of written sources;² however, few of these are of significance for our purposes. The earliest account of any considerable length is to be found in Herodotus' *Histories*, 2. 178–9. His Egyptian *logos* represents the most detailed and most important classical outline of Egypt's political and cultural conditions, particularly those at the time of the Saite dynasty.³ His ethnographic achievement influenced every successive description, whether Greek or Latin.⁴ Unfortunately, there are aspects in which his account of Naukratis is lacking in clarity; furthermore, the archaeological evidence has served to qualify his information. Nonetheless, this does not have the effect of rendering Herodotus' account as such unreliable, because it is not in the nature of archaeological material to do so, as Snodgrass⁵ quite rightly observes.

¹ J. G. Droysen, *Historik*, ed. P. Leyh (1977), 405, 446.

² See E. M. Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 182–205, for compilation of literary sources with translation and commentary; Bernard i 3, 586–604 for literary evidence, 604–9 for papyri, 609–14 for imperial coins.

³ Cf. A. B. Lloyd, *Historia* 37, 1988, 52.

⁴ Cf. Lloyd, ix.

⁵ A. Snodgrass, in M. Crawford (ed.), *Sources for Ancient History* (1983), 144ff.

Herodotus reports:⁶

178: Amasis, being a Philhellene, granted some Greeks certain rights, and in particular he gave those who came to Egypt the *polis* Naukratis to dwell in. And, what is more, to those among them who were going to sea and did not want to live there [in Naukratis] permanently he gave lands to erect altars and *temenea* for the gods. Of these latter the largest which is also the best known and most visited *temenos* is the so-called Hellenion; it was set up by the joint efforts of these poleis: of the Ionians Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, of the Dorians Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and of the Aeolians Mytilene alone. It is to these poleis that the *temenos* belongs, and it is they who appoint the *prostatai tou emporiou*. Other cities which claim a share in the Hellenion do so without any justification; the Aeginetans, however, did set up separately a *temenos* of Zeus on their own initiative, the Samians one in honour of Hera, and the Milesians another in honour of Apollo.

179: In old days Naukratis was the only *emporion*—and there was no other—in Egypt. Anyone who brought a ship into any of the other mouths of the Nile was bound to state an oath that he did so of necessity and then proceed to the Canobic mouth; should contrary winds prevent him from doing so, he had to carry his freight to Naukratis in barges all around the Delta. In such honour was Naukratis held.

Herodotus tells us that Amasis granted those arriving in Egypt the polis of Naukratis for settlement purposes. He also granted land to any preferring not to live permanently in Egypt but rather to engage in seafaring, so that they might erect altars and sanctuaries to their gods. Herodotus gives us the names of those poleis linked to Naukratis along with their sanctuaries, finally referring to Naukratis' special status as an *emporion*.

The post-Herodotean sources may be differentiated according to three criteria.⁷ The first involves the use of the term 'foundation'. Herodotus avoids speaking of a foundation (*κτίσις*), leading to the conclusion that Naukratis, unlike an *apoikia*, was not founded by any deliberate act on the part of a metropolis. For this reason, the term 'foundation' will also be avoided here, and that of 'establishment' preferred.

The second criterion is that of the date assigned to this 'foundation', the later sources placing it as far back as possible. By association with the Thalassocracy List the 'foundation' of Naukratis is placed to the mid-eighth century BC.⁸ Athenaios considers it to have already been in existence at the time of the 23rd Olympiad (688–685 BC).⁹ Strabo¹⁰ believes its 'foundation'

⁶ Hdt. 2. 178–9. Translation is based on A. de Selincourt (Penguin, 1972) and A. D. Godley (Loeb, 1920) with changes.

⁷ I follow Austin, 22 f.

⁸ Eusebios 88b (Helm²); cf. Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 135; Prinz, 3; von Bissing, 39 f.

⁹ Athen. 15. 675 f. quotes Polycharmos *FGrHist* 640 F 1.

¹⁰ Strab. 17. 1. 18 (c801); cf. discussion below.

to have taken place somewhere towards the end of the reign of Psammetichos I (664–610 BC)¹¹ or at the beginning of the reign of Psammetichos II (595–589 BC). These diverging dates in the sources regarding an act of foundation and its time suggest that there was in fact no unique tradition.¹²

The third criterion concerns the linking of the foundation with Miletus. Post-Classical sources link the existence of Naukratis, already a polis by this time, with a foundation by Miletus.¹³ This is contradicted both by Herodotus, who affords Miletus no special position relative to the other poleis,¹⁴ and by the archaeological evidence, which contains no indication of any Milesian pre-eminence.¹⁵ Miletus must have claimed the foundation of Naukratis for itself in the later tradition, since it is thereafter mentioned repeatedly in this connection.¹⁶

Using the description provided by Herodotus—supplemented by the other sources—the following investigation will attempt to shed light on the status of Naukratis, along with the related questions of the settlement's date, the role played by Amasis, and the place's organization.

2. NAUKRATIS—A POLIS?

It is striking that Herodotus initially characterizes Naukratis as a *polis*. This characterization has frequently been adopted unthinkingly by modern scholars, who consequently treat Archaic Naukratis as if it indeed were a polis. In dealing with Naukratis, however, Ehrhardt¹⁷ and Roebuck,¹⁸ for example, differentiate between a *polis* and an *apoikia*. Moreover, Herodotus employs the word *empóron* in 2. 179 to define the status of Naukratis. What can his intention have been in using the description *Naukratis polis*?

Herodotus utilizes the word polis in the second book of his *Histories* to describe Egyptian settlements,¹⁹ although they could hardly have been poleis in the Greek constitutional sense. This clearly reveals the difficulty

¹¹ Cf. G. Hirschfeld, *RhM* 42, 1887, 210f.; affirmative Austin, 23 n. 1.

¹² Cf. Austin, 23; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 66, 1946, 77.

¹³ Strab. 17. 1. 18 (c801); Apollonios Rhodios from Alexandria is said to have written a poem on the foundation (κτίσις) of Naukratis (Athen. 7. 283d); for Milesian inscriptions which give the stereotype of Miletus being the metropolis of many great cities, see Austin, 22 with n. 5.

¹⁴ Cf. Ehrhardt, 89f.

¹⁵ Pace Lehmann-Hartleben, 38; Prinz, 38, 114.

¹⁶ Strab. 17. 1. 18 (c801); Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ναύκρατις*; for bibliography see Austin, 23 n. 3; add H. Bowden, in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (1996), 26.

¹⁷ Ehrhardt, 90.

¹⁸ Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 212–20, however, stresses the similarity to a polis. Cf. Roebuck, *Trade*, 135, where he terms Naukratis 'neither Greek state nor colony'. Von Bissing, *F&F* 25, 1949, 1–2 and A. J. Graham, *JHS* 91, 1971, 37, e.g. describe Naukratis as a colony.

¹⁹ Cf. J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (1938), s.v. πόλις for references.

encountered by a Greek seeking to characterize a larger barbarian settlement and unable to fall back on any more general term, unlike English *city* as opposed to *city-state*. Thus, we must investigate whether Herodotus could have meant an already existing Egyptian settlement on this site, a polis in his linguistic usage.

There has been a considerable amount of speculation regarding a possible Egyptian settlement at Naukratis.²⁰ The Egyptians used translations of the Greek name for Naukratis, along with the description *Pi-emrôye*, although we have no evidence that the latter was employed before the fourth century BC.²¹ Von Bissing advanced the opinion that this could have been a translation from the Greek,²² although it is unlikely, since the name means simply 'house of the harbour' in Egyptian. This is also the probable meaning on the stele of Nektanebis, which is concerned with temple contributions and customs duty such as affect primarily the significance of Naukratis as Egypt's 'port of trade'. Austin²³ has suggested that Naukratis could be the translation of *Pi-emrôye*, the former then perhaps replacing an old Egyptian settlement, as was the case with Alexandria and the previous settlement of Rhakotis.²⁴ This, however, is the very supposition which first has to be substantiated.

In the light of the absence of clear indications from literary sources, and given the unequivocal nature of the archaeological evidence²⁵ against an Egyptian settlement on this site before that of the Greeks, we must discard the supposition that Herodotus could have meant an Egyptian polis.

Could Herodotus have meant a Greek polis already in existence when describing the measures taken by Amasis?²⁶ It is impossible to detect from what he says whether he assumed Naukratis to have been in existence prior to Amasis' measures. Yet the archaeological evidence indicates quite unambiguously—following the conventional dating—that it should already have existed at this time. Let us now turn to the other sources to see what date they assign to the first settlement of Naukratis.

First of all there is Athenaios,²⁷ who mentions Polycharmos of Naukratis,

²⁰ Cf. Hogarth, *JHS* 25, 1905, 106 ff.; Gjerstad, *AArch* 30, 1959, 160; Austin, 28 ff.; Blumenthal, 154, though wrongly assuming that Naukratis was a commercial quarter added to the Egyptian settlement, nevertheless arrives at the right conclusion that Naukratis was not a polis. For Haider, 1996, 98 ff., Greek traders and craftsmen settled beside an Egyptian village, partly replacing it.

²¹ Stela of Nektanebis I (380 BC), line 10; cf. B. Gunn, *JEA* 29, 1943, 58; von Bissing, 35; Bernand i 3, 768 n. 1 for more references containing this name. See also Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 222).

²² Von Bissing, 33; id., *F&F* 25, 1949, 1; Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 223) objects.

²³ Austin, 30 n. 2.

²⁴ Strab. 17. 1. 6 (C792)

²⁵ Cf. V.3.k.

²⁶ Cf. Haider, 190f. with n. 146 for older literature. *Naukratis* I, 4; *Naukratis* II, 71; Prinz, 5, all assume Herodotus had a pre-existing polis in mind. Cf. VI.3, below.

²⁷ Athen. 15. 675 f.

a possible Hellenistic local historian, recording his story of Herostratos the trader, a Naukratite saved from distress at sea during the 23rd Olympiad (688–685 BC). This would indicate that Naukratis was already a polis by the beginning of the early seventh century—yet the archaeological evidence renders this quite simply out of the question. While the possibility cannot be excluded of an error in writing down the dates,²⁸ the entire account sounds like a story from the Hellenistic period—especially given the description of Herostratos as 'our fellow-citizen' (πολίτης ἡμέτερος)²⁹—coupled with the attempt to bestow a venerable age on the tradition that it addresses. Accordingly, we must discard this source as being of any assistance for dating the settlement.³⁰

The most frequent efforts with regard to fixing such a date involve enlisting Strabo.³¹ He records that the Milesians sailed with thirty ships into the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile at the time of Psammetichos, who lived at the time of Kyaxares the Mede, founding the *Milesion teichos* there. In time (χρόνῳ), he continues, they sailed into the Saite nomos, defeated Inaros in a sea battle, and founded the polis of Naukratis not far above Schedia.

Strabo's reference to the time of Psammetichos is of no value,³² since his additional remark—'who lived at the time of Kyaxares (624–585 BC) the Mede'—can refer to either of the pharaohs bearing this name. Nevertheless, scholars generally decide in favour of Psammetichos I, in view of the archaeological evidence available.³³ Strabo writes that the Milesians defeated Inaros at sea before founding Naukratis. Some would identify Inaros with a city,³⁴ although this argument can presumably be dismissed.³⁵ The search for an Inaros about whom something is known to us leads to the man who persuaded the Egyptians to break away from Persia around 460 BC after the death of Xerxes³⁶—yet the temporal difference is such as to rule this man out. There remains the attempt to postulate an Inaros among the opponents defeated by Psammetichos I at Momemphis; however, this would appear somewhat arbitrary, since the list of kinglets

²⁸ Von Bissing, 38f., 48 n. 6, proposed a correction to *Ol.* 46 or 47. Shipley, 86f., 92, connects Herostratos with the Samian *stasiastai* of the 2nd half of the 6th c.

²⁹ Polycharmos came from Naukratis and talked in the Hellenistic period of 'our citizen'; cf. below for the problem of a Naukratite citizenship.

³⁰ Cf. Prinz, 2f.

³¹ Strab. 17. 1. 18 (c801–2). He might have used Artemidoros' *Geographumena* here, cf. Haider, 1996, 96.

³² Cf. Hirschfeld, *RhM* 42, 197, 211.

³³ Cf. Prinz, 2; Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 130; Austin, 23 n. 1; Haider, 1996, 96.

³⁴ See the translation by H. L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (1949); Braun, *CAH* iii 3 (1982), 37.

³⁵ Cf. Hirschfeld, *RhM* 42, 1887, 210.

³⁶ Thuk. 1. 104; cf. Diod. 11. 71, 3–6; Hdt. 7. 7; cf. for dating and an account of this incident Lloyd, 38–47; Haider, 194f. with references.

which has come down to us contains no mention of any Inaros.³⁷ For this reason, von Bissing³⁸ concludes that Strabo or his sources connected a report about a later sea battle at the time of Inaros between Persians and Greeks off Memphis³⁹ with the foundation of Naukratis. At all events, the mention of an Inaros and the sea battle are of no assistance to our dating.

There is no other evidence to support the existence of the Milesian fort mentioned by Strabo.⁴⁰ If it really existed, then the Egyptians must have permitted the foundation of a Milesian stronghold in their territory, something hard to imagine in the Egypt of the Saite dynasty. Nor can it have continued to exist after the 'foundation' of Naukratis, since the Egyptians were clearly attempting to concentrate Greek activity in one place.⁴¹ Furthermore, the memory of this fort would have had to have remained in mind down through the centuries, without older sources making mention of it.⁴² For all these reasons, Bresson⁴³ considers it possible that Strabo was employing a common pattern here, since he describes the foundation of Poseidonia⁴⁴ in the same manner as that of Naukratis.

Clearly, then, Strabo's unreliability here rules him out as a source for dating; yet scholars commonly endeavour either to conflate Strabo and Herodotus⁴⁵ or, basing themselves one-sidedly on the former, to emphasize the significance of Miletus in the 'foundation' of Naukratis.⁴⁶

Given the inadequacy of the written sources⁴⁷ for dating, we are compelled to rely solely upon the archaeological evidence. This shows

³⁷ Cf. von Bissing, 39ff. Lloyd, 25 with n. 98 discusses the Egyptian name Inaros and its Libyan connections; Haider, 195-9 considers a conflict between Psammetichos I and a Libyan tribe which could have been led by an Inaros. However, this cannot be substantiated.

³⁸ Von Bissing, 41.

³⁹ W. Peek, *Klio* 32, 1939, 289-306, published a Samian inscription which alludes to this event.

⁴⁰ Ehrhardt, 90, deduces from the existence of the Milesian calendar at Naukratis at the time of Hadrian a sizeable element of Milesians and concludes the existence of the Milesian fort therefore most likely. Haider, 184f., approves Strabo's account. Haider, 1996, 96-101 places the *Milesian teichos* into the context of Greek mercenary services under Psammetichos I and compares it with the *Stratopeda* and—unwarrantedly—Naukratis.

⁴¹ Hdt. 2. 179; cf. Hirschfeld, *RhM* 42, 1887, 222.

⁴² Cf. Austin, 27 n. 3.

⁴³ Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 315f.

⁴⁴ Strab. 5. 4. 13 (c251); for further references to *teichos*, cf. M. Mello, *PP* 22, 1967, 407ff.

⁴⁵ e.g. Gjerstad, *AArch* 30, 1959, 159ff.; R. J. Hopper, *Trade and Industry in Classical Greece* (1979), 46.

⁴⁶ Cf. Prinz, 1-6; Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 130ff.; J. Röhlig, 'Der Handel von Milet', Ph.D. thesis, Hamburg (1933), 32; H. Michell, *Economics of Ancient Greece* (N.Y. 1957), 241. P. Faure, *La vie quotidienne des colons grecs* (1978), 158-61, gives a good example of another of Droysen's types of historiography: the narrative way. He makes up a good story from very little evidence. J. M. Cook, *CAH* iii 3 (1982) 212. Lloyd, 24ff., considers a date before 656 BC possible. Lloyd *com.* 2. 178 (pp. 223f.). Haider, 191-4, with n. 152 for more literature, accepts the pre-eminence of Miletus, albeit acknowledging inconsistencies within the archaeological material.

⁴⁷ The inscriptions are not of much help for dating; cf. Ehrhardt, 87f. with n. 709; Austin, 24, 60 n. 2; Bernand i 3, 770.

Naukratis to have been in existence from the last quarter of the seventh century BC on, such a date being based upon the pottery finds, the earliest item of which is a fragment in the Corinthian Transitional style from the end of the third quarter of the seventh century.⁴⁸ The discovery of other pottery fragments dating to the last quarter of the seventh century—Corinthian, Attic bf, Chian, and Ionian MWG II vases, together with bird bowls—would indicate a settlement from the last quarter of the seventh century BC. The establishment of Naukratis would then fall in the period covered by the reign of Psammetichos I,⁴⁹ the pharaoh who granted land to Greek mercenaries on whom he had relied while setting himself up as ruler. Accordingly, Naukratis was already in existence before the measures adopted by Amasis.⁵⁰

It is unlikely that this settlement was already a polis in the constitutional sense. The Greeks could never have established such a thing within Egypt under the Saite dynasty, since the pharaoh would not have granted land without maintaining his claim to sovereignty over it. Furthermore, the idea that the Greeks could have founded a polis anywhere they wished is too Hellenocentric.⁵¹ It can be said with certainty that there was no polis of Naukratis prior to Amasis.

Amasis' granting of land would not have constituted a polis either. The additional qualification 'for dwelling' (ἐνοικῆσαι) added by Herodotus gives 'to grant a polis' (διδόναι πόλιν) a local significance.⁵² Psammetichos I likewise gave the mercenaries 'land for dwelling' (χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι),⁵³ without thereby founding a polis in the constitutional sense; rather, it was a

⁴⁸ Boston 09.210; doubts, however, have been cast on its find-spot Naukratis; cf. V.4.a. Corinthian Vases, and Appendix 1.a.

⁴⁹ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 215. Von Bissing, *F&F* 25, 1949, 1, opted for Psammetichos II using scarabs as evidence. Apparently, those scarabs with the name of Psammetichos I found at Naukratis have an added *hs* which is used to write the noun and verb 'praise' and is only attributed to dead persons (cf. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* (1889), pl. 26 upper row; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* (repr. 1978), pl. 55 nos. 11–12 no provenance given). According to von Bissing this points to the fact that Naukratis was only established under Psammetichos II. Cf. Webb, 115ff. for cartouches and discussion whether the hieroglyphic name is to be read as that of Psammetichos I or of Apries.

⁵⁰ This is disputed by Gjerstad, *AAL* 21, 1934, 67–84; id., *AArch* 30, 1959, 147–65, downdating the pottery on account of Herodotus. M. Vickers, *NC* 145, 1985, 18 f.; E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, *Levant* 17, 1985, 137; D. W. J. Gill, in I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece* (1994), 107, take Herodotus' testimony on Amasis as evidence to downdate the Greek pottery chronology in general. R. M. Cook, *JHS* 109, 1989, 164–70, esp. 165 discusses the Francis-Vickers chronology critically. H. Bowden, *Hephaistos* 10, 1991, 49–59, makes a similar attempt to downdate the pottery finds from Naukratis by 40 years resulting in a different story of its history. However, I do not see how this would reconcile Herodotus' account any better. J. C. Waldbaum and J. Magness, *AJA* 101, 1997, 23–40, present evidence from the Levant for the traditional chronology.

⁵¹ Cf. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 297.

⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, 292f.; Austin, 27.

⁵³ *Hdt.* 2. 154.

matter of the so-called *Stratopeda*. Another possibility can be seen in those cases in which Greeks accused of Medism were to be expelled from their *empória* so that the land could be given to the Ionians for dwelling purposes (*ἐνοικῆσαι*),⁵⁴ or where the Aeginetans had received land from the Spartans on which to dwell (*ἐνοικεῖν*),⁵⁵ the people concerned already having a form of political organization at the time in question. Land is granted (*διδόναι*) in all three cases without any mention being made of a proper act of foundation. Accordingly, the deed of granting cannot be regarded as implying the foundation of a polis. Indeed, it is readily apparent in the case of the *Stratopeda* that the Pharaoh, in granting the territory in question, was not thereby surrendering his rights in respect to this land and its inhabitants: Amasis was able to resettle the latter at a later time without further ado.⁵⁶

It is possible that people were already speaking of the polis of Naukratis at the time of Herodotus. Assuming the gravestone of a metic in Athens to have been correctly dated to the end of the fifth century BC,⁵⁷ it provides us with the oldest instance of the description 'Naukratite' (*Ναυκρατίτης*). The emergence of an *ethnikon* is one criterion for the self-concept of a polis's inhabitants, yet this is not sufficient to allow us to draw conclusions as to the legal status of a settlement, since there were no conditions governing the use of an *ethnikon*.⁵⁸ The inhabitants of Naukratis would seem to have described themselves quite naturally as Naukratites in Greece from the fourth century on,⁵⁹ pointing to the fact that from the fourth century on Naukratis was considered a polis.⁶⁰ A further criterion for ascertaining the status of a polis is whether it mints its own coinage; in the case of Naukratis, however, the earliest extant instances of this do not come until the time after Alexander.⁶¹

Since our concern here is not the later history of Naukratis in the Hellenistic and Roman periods,⁶² let us return to the time of Herodotus.

⁵⁴ Hdt. 9. 106.

⁵⁵ Thuk. 4. 56.

⁵⁶ Hdt. 2. 154.

⁵⁷ *IG* ii², 9984; Austin 29, with n. 3, gives further references from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC; cf. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 316 with nn. 152ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 316; Graham, 104.

⁵⁹ Smith, *JSOR* 10, 1926, 176–82, gives a 'Prosopographia Naukratitica' comprising 27 names.

⁶⁰ Cf. Austin, 29 with n. 3; Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 319. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 216, assumes on the contrary a development towards a 'normal Greek community' already by Amasis' measures. However, only in Hellenistic times do we know of polis institutions such as *timouchoi* (Athen. 4. 149f.) and *syngrophophylakes* (*OGIS* i, 201f.; *Naukratis* I, pl. 30.3). D. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (1988), 97, suggests that the *timouchoi* represented Naukratis the city whereas in the *empóron* the different groups were represented by *prostatai*. This assumption is based on her view that Naukratis was founded as a Greek-style polis and the idea that there were two parts—a city and an *empóron*. However, the *prostatai* are attested for the Archaic and Classical Naukratis, the *timouchoi* for the Hellenistic.

⁶¹ Cf. Austin, 29 n. 3; Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 317 with n. 160.

⁶² For the later history see Kees, *RE* XVI 2 col. 1964–6 s.v. 'Naukratis'; *Naukratis* III, 13–7.

The search for some indication that Naukratis perhaps could indeed have already been regarded as a polis at this time brings one to the—admittedly controversial—Rhodian proxeny decrees.

The first decree⁶³ comes from the Hellenion in Naukratis and must belong to the period before 411 BC, since the inscription refers to democracy and that fell after the break with Athens.⁶⁴ Bresson⁶⁵ favours an updating of this inscription on the basis of the writing, placing it in the years 440–420 BC. This would fit in with his supposition that Herodotus could have taken over from the decree his wording regarding those wanting to settle in Egypt, as opposed to those whose presence was merely temporary. I am not convinced that this supposition stands up to examination. The second decree⁶⁶ comes from Lindos itself, and has been dated to the transitional period between 411 BC and 407 BC, the synoikism of Rhodes.⁶⁷

The first decree from the Hellenion mentions a certain Damoxenos, son of Hermon, living in Egypt (ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντα). The reference to Naukratis is assured by means of the erection and ultimate discovery of the inscription in the Hellenion. The inscription tells us nothing about Damoxenos other than his father's name as Hermon and his place of residence as Egypt.⁶⁸ Yet he must already have been living at Naukratis for some considerable time, since he was appointed proxenos of the Lindians. Damoxenos must therefore be categorized as among the inhabitants of Naukratis, although the *ethnikon* 'Naukratite' is not employed.

The decree from Lindos is more problematic in nature, since a gap at the decisive point leaves room for different interpretations. Austin⁶⁹ cautiously favours restoring the crucial bits as

Αἰγ[υπῶ]ταν τ[ὸ]ν ἐν Ναυκράτ[ι]ος] ἐρ[μ]α[ν]έα

—'the ?Aeginetan [so-and-so], an interpreter from Naukratis'. To restore this way would point to the fact that the consciousness of one's origin from a polis in Greece proper was still so strong at the end of the fifth century that one characterized oneself as Aeginetan rather than Naukratite.

⁶³ *Syll.*³, 110 n. 4; *Lindos* ii 1, 212–14 no. 16. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 301 f., stresses the fact that this was a copy of the *psephisma* from Lindos according to text 1, lines 15–21.

⁶⁴ Thuk. 8. 44. 2; cf. *Lindos* ii, 213; Austin, 26 n. 2. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 219 f. n. 26 dates the inscription to just before the synoikism.

⁶⁵ Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 301 f.

⁶⁶ *Syll.*³, 110; *Lindos* ii 1, 210–14 no. 16.

⁶⁷ Diod. 13. 75.1; Austin, 26 n. 2; Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 301. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 219 f. n. 26, dates this decree to the time soon after 407 BC, since it is rather emphatic about representation of all the Rhodians.

⁶⁸ Cf. Austin, 29 n. 3.

⁶⁹ Austin, 29 n. 3; cf. as well *Syll.*³, 110.

Another suggestion restores⁷⁰ as follows:

Αἰγ[ύπτιον τ]ὸν ἐγ Νauκράτ[ιος]

—'the Egyptian from Naukratis'. In neither case does the restoration reveal the name of the proxenos; however, the father's name—Pytheas—has been identified and is Greek. The latter proposal would indicate that Greeks resident in Egypt must have been addressed as 'Egyptians'; alternatively, this may be seen, in comparison with the decree from Naukratis, as corresponding to 'living in Egypt' (ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντα).⁷¹ This second interpretation could also refer merely to Greeks living there, no Naukratite citizenship being implied. The existence of proxenoi alone clearly does not represent sufficient grounds for the assumption of the existence of a polis in the constitutional sense;⁷² the most that it indicates is the presence of an established settlement of Greeks.

To summarize, we can say that Naukratis did not represent a polis in the constitutional sense until somewhere in the fourth century. Nevertheless, it could have attained a greater degree of independence in the first half of the fifth century with Persian rule breaking down in the Western Delta⁷³ and the insurgent Egyptians presumably unable to maintain firm control over their 'port of trade'. A revival is also reflected in renewed construction activity, to be seen—if with caution—in the cases of the Temple of Apollo, the Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, and the Hellenion. Egypt was independent for one last time in the fourth century, and its strengthened control over Naukratis is made manifest in the stele of Nektanebis I (380–362 BC),⁷⁴ containing regulations with respect to customs duty. Recognition as a polis cannot have occurred until after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander at the earliest, even though Naukratis' importance declines just as that of Alexandria increases. However, the archaeological and literary sources provide proof of the settlement's continued existence into the Byzantine period.⁷⁵ Herodotus must therefore have employed the expression *Naukratis polis* for lack of another, more appropriate description for this settlement of Greeks in Egypt.

⁷⁰ *Syll.*³, Index, s.v. Αἰγυπτιος; cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 219f. n. 26; Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 301 ff.

⁷¹ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 219f. n. 26; Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 305.

⁷² Cf. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 307. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 216, takes the opposite view.

⁷³ Cf. Kienitz, 72.

⁷⁴ Cf. Kienitz, 199f.; see discussion below, VI.5.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Naukratis* III, 15 ff.

3. THE ROLE OF AMASIS

Herodotus links his remarks concerning Naukratis with Pharaoh Amasis, introducing his chapter on Naukratis with the statement 'Amasis, being a philhellene' (*φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀμασις*).⁷⁶ He presents Amasis as a true philhellene, although in fact, Amasis had come to power as the leader of those Egyptians who had risen up against Apries, the latter relying upon the support of Greek mercenaries; in so doing, Amasis had exploited anti-Greek feelings. In portraying him, however, as a friend of the Greeks, one distributing generous presents to their sacred sites;⁷⁷—albeit not mentioning the fact that this act was connected in all likelihood with the ulterior motive of winning allies—Herodotus puts him into the philhellenic tradition characteristic of the Saite dynasty since Psammetichos I.

According to Herodotus, Amasis' pro-Greek gestures included the 'granting' of Naukratis (*Ἀμασις . . . ἔδωκε*).⁷⁸ The uniqueness of this *emporion* is understood as a special distinction for Naukratis, rather than as a restriction⁷⁹ upon the Greeks in the sense of a 'port of trade'. Herodotus also seems to link the founding of the Hellenion and the establishment of the *prostatai tou emporiou*, the heads of the *emporion*, directly with Amasis, since he mentions the Hellenion referring back to the other altars and sanctuaries granted by Amasis, although he speaks of these things in the present tense, as if they were his own observations. The use of 'formerly' (*τὸ παλαιόν*) in his description of Naukratis as the only *emporion* in Egypt renders the date equally unclear,⁸⁰ since it is not apparent whether he is connecting the uniqueness of the *emporion* with Amasis or referring to earlier times.⁸¹

Given Herodotus' description of Amasis as pro-Greek, however, together with the historiographer's concern to portray Naukratis as a pro-Greek gesture, we can assume that he wished to link to Amasis not only the granting of Naukratis but also the foundation of the Hellenion and the other sanctuaries,⁸² along with the limitation of trade which he interprets as a favour.⁸³ The supposition that Herodotus attributed the

⁷⁶ Cf. Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178; Reyes, 72, 76.

⁷⁷ Hdt. 2. 180–2

⁷⁸ Cf. Austin, 23 with n. 5 for literature.

⁷⁹ Cf. Kienitz, 46.

⁸⁰ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 213; Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 294; Austin, 27 n. 5; Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 229).

⁸¹ Shipley, 86, assumes a trading post on an island in the Nile called Samos (Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἐφεσος*) before Naukratis was established and all trade had to be directed there. Austin, 27 n. 4, calls it a joke to name an island Ephesus.

⁸² Cf. Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 227).

⁸³ Cf. R. M. Cook, *JHS* 57, 1937, 233; Posener, *RPh* 21, 1947, 131; Austin, 27 n. 6; Lloyd, 26. Werner, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 35, speculates about other free-trade areas at the time of Amasis.

establishment of the *empóron* to Amasis⁸⁴ is strengthened by the fact that he says nothing whatsoever about the earlier presence of Greeks on the site of Naukratis, nor anything of an explicit nature regarding a reorganization by Amasis. Yet Herodotus would appear to have known that there was no firm tradition of foundation: it is probably for this reason that he chose the more neutral 'to grant' (*διδόναι*) to describe the establishment of this *empóron*. It is striking that Herodotus attributes the initiative to the pharaoh and does not himself believe it possible for the Greeks to have been able to establish a settlement, something which he could then have described by using the verb 'to found' (*κτίζειν*). Yet Herodotus either erroneously or consciously attributed the establishment of the *empóron* of Naukratis to Amasis; however, he was wrong:⁸⁵ this must have been the responsibility of Psammetichos I.

The remaining point for discussion concerns the question as to whether the establishment of the Hellenion should be linked to measures undertaken by Amasis. Herodotus' wording proves that he assumed just that.⁸⁶ Archaeological finds from the Hellenion confirm a dating of just after 570 BC, the date of Amasis' accession.⁸⁷

Herodotus⁸⁸ would appear to regard the appointment of the *prostatai tou emporiou* as closely connected to the Hellenion. Those poleis⁸⁹ which together had set up the Hellenion were also allowed to select the *prostatai*, while other poleis unjustly claimed to be entitled to do so. These latter were probably those poleis possessing sacred sites of their own, namely Aegina, Samos, and Miletus. The reason for denying co-determination of the *prostatai* to precisely these significant poleis has given rise to many interpretations.

Prinz⁹⁰ was the first to put forward the theory that the description of the *prostatai* as 'those of the *empóron*' refers not to the settlement as a whole but merely to the *empóron* belonging to the Hellenion, as a market-place in the harbour area. If we accept this theory, we must assume that each of the

⁸⁴ R. M. Cook, *JHS* 57, 1937, 232f., writes 'foundation'; Herodotus is followed by Lehmann-Hartleben, 38; Starr, 61.

⁸⁵ Cf. Austin, 22, 24 with n. 3; on the contrary Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 295.

⁸⁶ The way Herodotus phrased the beginning of the sentence mentioning the Hellenion (*τὸ μὲν νῦν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος*) makes the assumption that he was referring to Amasis very plausible.

⁸⁷ Cf. V. 3.f; Boardman, *GO*³, 140f.

⁸⁸ Hdt. 2. 178

⁸⁹ Although Herodotus talked of poleis, it was more probably groups of traders and inhabitants who established the cults sanctioned by their home poleis. Cf. Austin, 45; Hasebroek, 66f.

⁹⁰ Prinz, 5f.; followed by Lehmann-Hartleben, 38. P. Rouillard, in *Les Grecs et l'occident* (1995), 100, assumes a town beside which the *empóron* Naukratis was situated, and that the inhabitants of Naukratis lived in a separate quarter (105). He apparently revives the old view that Naukratis was placed beside an Egyptian town.

other *temenea* must have possessed its own *emporion*, and consequently its own *prostatai*. If this were the case, then a supposed polis of Naukratis would surely also have had an *emporion*. This is highly unlikely, however, since Herodotus generally describes entire settlements as *emporía* the inhabitants of which attended mainly to *emporía*.⁹¹ It is in this sense that he uses the word *emporion* in connection with Naukratis.⁹²

Roebuck⁹³ interprets the act of founding the Hellenion as the creation of a united Naukratis, the Hellenion forming its central focal point. It became the political centre, where proxeny decrees such as that of Lindos were posted, while those individuals involved in its foundation became citizens of Naukratis. The owners of the other sanctuaries remained outside the state organization, their status equivalent to that of the metic. Yet the discussion above as to whether Naukratis possessed the status of a polis clearly demonstrates that these suppositions go much too far. In no way did the founding of the Hellenion constitute a polis and the corresponding conferment of citizenship upon its population. Why, moreover, does Herodotus talk of various poleis participating in the selection of the *prostatai* if there subsequently existed only the polis of Naukratis?

According to Roebuck,⁹⁴ those poleis now excluded from citizenship—Aegina, Samos, and Miletus—had less interest in trade. Yet good contacts existed between Samos and Egypt, especially at the time of Amasis,⁹⁵ and Samos is also known for its bold seafarers, who, for all that they were probably pirates, provided for the supply of foreign goods. With regard to Aegina, we know that it turned to *emporía* because of a lack of resources.⁹⁶ An absence of interest in trade can thus be dismissed as the reason behind the outsider status of these three poleis.

The question arises, however, as to whether they were in fact regarded as outsiders. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain the exact status of the traders from Aegina, Samos, and Miletus in relationship to the Hellenion.⁹⁷ The archaeological evidence shows that the Samian Sanctuary of Hera and the Milesian Sanctuary of Apollo are older than the Hellenion. The Aeginetan Temenos of Zeus mentioned by Herodotus has not been found to date.⁹⁸ This has given rise to the conjecture that the new arrivals in the Hellenion may perhaps have united to form a combined front against the

⁹¹ Cf. IV.3.

⁹² Hdt. 2. 179; cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 215.

⁹³ Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 217.

⁹⁴ Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 238f.; id., *CPh* 46, 1951, 217f.; von Bissing, 45, rejected a leading role for Samos, too.

⁹⁵ Hdt. 2. 182.

⁹⁶ Figueira, 22ff., ch. 4 *passim*; I. Hahn, in *Trade and Famine*, 33f.; Hasebroek, 36.

⁹⁷ Cf. Austin, 32.

⁹⁸ Cf. V.3.e.

established groups.⁹⁹ However, the participation of Chios in the Hellenion argues against this view, given the fact that the Sanctuary of Aphrodite—the oldest temenos—is generally seen as belonging to Chios on the grounds of the predominance of Chian sherds to be found there.¹⁰⁰

Thus, it could be that Herodotus was misled through his informants' supplying him with the names of only some of the poleis involved in the foundation of the Hellenion;¹⁰¹ alternatively—but at some time before Herodotus—certain other poleis may have unrightfully claimed their involvement in the foundation, the three mentioned not in fact being meant at all.¹⁰² Whatever the case may be, the question must remain unanswered for the time being.

With regard to the method by means of which the *prostatai* were selected, Roebuck¹⁰³ has raised the objection that, should the *prostatai* have been determined by those poleis responsible for the foundation of the Hellenion, then it would have been in the hands of non-citizens appointed by various Greek states. Besides the fact that the implicit assumption of 'citizens' is misleading, it is hard to imagine that Greek poleis, so rarely capable of agreement, could have co-determined *prostatai* in such a distant place as Naukratis.¹⁰⁴ Would it not perhaps have been easier for there to be one *prostates*, no more and no less, for each polis? Regrettably, no numbers have come down to us. It is more likely, however, that the traders and inhabitants of this *empóron* would have selected the office-holders.¹⁰⁵

The more important and interesting question relates to the function of the *prostatai*. The 'heads of the *empóron*' are considered to have been a form of 'commercial attaché'.¹⁰⁶ They may be understood as the Greeks' representatives to the pharaoh. Their special duties may have involved the supervision of exchange transactions,¹⁰⁷ along with their function as the point of contact between the *empóron* and the Egyptian officials.

The *prostatai* could have represented a counterpart to the Egyptian 'Overseer of the Gate to the Foreign Lands of the Great Green', who was

⁹⁹ Cf. O. Murray, *Early Greece* (21993), 230f.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 241f.; Boardman, *GO*³, 119f.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Murray, *op. cit.*, 231.

¹⁰² Cf. Figueira, 262f.

¹⁰³ Roebuck, *CPh* 46, 1951, 215f.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Austin, 31f.; Boardman, *GO*³, 131. J. Boardman, in G. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (1994), 142, stresses the common interest in 'making money' which made the inhabitants of Naukratis indifferent to the inter-state rivalries at home.

¹⁰⁵ Hasebroek, 66f. assumed that cult groups would have chosen the *prostatai*.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Prinz, 115; How and Wells on Hdt. 2. 178, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* (1976), 54. J. Velissaropoulos, *DHA* 3, 1977, 63, considers police tasks. Boardman, *GO*³, 131, contemplates an amalgam of magistrates for the town and 'consuls' for their kinsmen and for merchants from their mother cities.

responsible for the supervision of foreign traffic in the delta and the collection of taxes for the Temple of Neith in Sais. At the time of Amasis, this office was held by Nekhthorheb,¹⁰⁸ under whose jurisdiction Naukratis will doubtless have fallen.¹⁰⁹ His function is a further indication that the regulations passed down to us on the stele of Nektanebis I (380 BC)¹¹⁰ from Naukratis either were already in force at the time of Amasis or were introduced by him.¹¹¹

Taking Herodotus' remarks concerning the role of Amasis as our basis, we can be certain that the latter permitted the construction of the Hellenion with its quasi-political organization, in the form of the *prostatai*. Construction work on the first Temple of Apollo can likewise be dated to the period 570–555 BC, yet the worship of Apollo in Naukratis goes back to the last quarter of the seventh century; thus, we can speculate that the existence of the *empóron* was secured to such an extent by Amasis that the Greeks felt themselves able to begin with the building of a permanent temple. We could thus speak of a reorganization¹¹² of the *empóron* of Naukratis by Amasis. The fact that he was not responsible for the limitation of trade to Naukratis alone emerges from the background of the Egyptian system: in establishing a 'port of trade', this system simultaneously safeguarded its exclusive nature, as Herodotus saw it, or, expressed differently, restricted trade to this site alone. From the very beginning—from the establishment of Naukratis by Psammetichos I—the trading permission granted the Greeks was restricted.

4. THE TRADERS AND INHABITANTS OF NAUKRATIS

We will devote ourselves here to a consideration of the *empóron*'s internal structure. In the way he phrases his statement on the establishment of Naukratis, Herodotus differentiates between those wishing to live permanently in Egypt and those coming there merely for seafaring purposes. Since he characterizes Naukratis as an *empóron*, those wishing to conduct seafaring activities there may be described as 'traders'.¹¹³ The other group

¹⁰⁸ Cf. P. Tresson, *Kémi* 4, 1931, 126–44; Posener, *RPh* 21, 1947, 121–31. An illustration of the kneeling statue of Nekhthorheb is to be found in J. Leclant (ed.), *L'Égypte du crépuscule. De Tanis à Méroé 1070 av. J.-C. – IV^e siècle apr. J.-C.* (1980), 149 fig. 131. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 333, mentions Nesuhor, who was 'Overseer of the Gate of the Southern Foreign Lands'. For Nesuhor see as well H. Kees, *Zur Innenpolitik der Saitendynastie* (1936), 95–106.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Davis, *GM* 35, 1979, 16.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Kienitz, 89, 123, 200, and discussion below, VI.5.

¹¹¹ Cf. Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 230); H. Kees, *Das alte Ägypten* (1955), 116f.

¹¹² Cf. Boardman, *GO³*, 117; Ehrhardt, 88; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 109, 1989, 165 n. 10 (probably belonging to n. 11).

¹¹³ Cf. Austin, 24; Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 292ff. uses *passagers* in contrast to *résidents*.

will consequently be referred to here as 'inhabitants', with the qualification that this should not be seen as implying any citizenship.

This division into 'traders' and 'inhabitants' is based exclusively upon an interpretation of Herodotus. Lehmann-Hartleben¹¹⁴ makes the false supposition that Amasis granted the Greeks the town of Naukratis for settlement and the conferment of citizenship upon its population, and accordingly that the traders erected their sanctuaries in the harbour district, the *empóron*. He believes this harbour district to have been integrated into the town as a fundamental part of it. In doing so, however, he overlooks the fact that Herodotus was talking about the entire area in describing it as an *empóron*;¹¹⁵ nor does any such division emerge from the topography of Naukratis, since the temples are spread over the entire area that may be characterized as comprising Archaic Naukratis. The archaeological evidence cannot as yet be interpreted as suggesting separate domestic districts, a district for public buildings, or a harbour district.

The group of inhabitants is not even confirmed archaeologically by a cemetery; although Gardner¹¹⁶ discovered traces of a Hellenistic one, an Archaic one has not been found. However, it is not at all certain that there was one, since the Phoenicians, for instance, apparently did not bury their dead in their *empória*, but took them back home.¹¹⁷

It is equally certain that Hasebroek¹¹⁸ is incorrect in supposing—alongside the citizenry with full rights—the existence of a foreign element present in the district of the sacred sites and functioning as the agents of trading activities. This may be true of a polis; in the case of Naukratis, however, there is no such thing as a 'full citizen', so that all present—whether traders or inhabitants—should ultimately be regarded as belonging to the 'foreign element', one in an Egypt granting hospitality.

Herodotus' division of the people in Naukratis into traders and inhabitants need not contradict his use of the term *empóron* to describe a settlement of Greeks whose principal occupation was trade. Rather, a double aspect¹¹⁹ is emphasized, one which had surely arisen by Herodotus'

¹¹⁴ Lehmann-Hartleben, 37f.

¹¹⁵ How and Wells on Hdt. 2. 178–9, do not discuss the term *empóron*. Although they compare Naukratis with the treaty ports of Canton and Nagasaki, they nevertheless consider the 'composite character of the colony' (my italics).

¹¹⁶ *Naukratis* II, 21–9. Cf. von Bissing, 52f., for evaluation of Gardner's report.

¹¹⁷ Cf. M. H. Fantar, 'Punic Civilization', in *Carthage: A Mosaic of Ancient Tunisia*, ed. A. B. Khader and D. Soren (1987), 98. Oren, *BASOR* 256 (1984), 30, takes a differing view, figs. 52–3 for site T 73, where Egyptian jars with cremated remains were discovered such as could indicate the cemetery of the Phoenician community at Migdol. Aubet, 266–72, accounts Phoenician cemeteries in the west which were the burial places of permanent settlers rather than of merchants.

¹¹⁸ Hasebroek, 66.

¹¹⁹ Austin, 30.

day. In order to be in a position to serve as the place of exchange or the point of stopover on a long journey, an *emporion* requires an infrastructure such as could be guaranteed by the group of the inhabitants. Part of this infrastructure may be seen in the sanctuaries, providing the place in which to thank the gods that one has survived the dangers involved in seafaring and pray for a safe return. These sanctuaries must be maintained.

Larger sanctuaries usually also had workshops in the vicinity, whether permanent or temporary in nature, in which devotional objects were produced. In Naukratis, however, the majority of the vases found in the sanctuaries originate from the home poleis of the travellers or traders operating there, who therefore must have brought their votive offerings with them from their home towns. There could also have been exceptions, since a workshop for the production of particular kinds of Chian pottery is believed to have existed¹²⁰ in which craftsmen must have worked such as can perhaps be described as inhabitants. At all events, Hellenistic and Roman Naukratis was renowned for its pottery production, Athenaios¹²¹ recording the presence here of many potters who produced excellent kylikes. However, this statement cannot refer to the much older Chian chalices; Athenaios mentioned these in contrast to another type of kylix.¹²²

Craftsmen active during the sixth century in the faience workshop¹²³ can be numbered among Naukratis' inhabitants, too. The same can be said of those involved in producing some of the statuettes of Egyptian materials¹²⁴ that have been found in Naukratis and were presumably produced locally. It is doubtful whether the finds of metals entered in Petrie's map¹²⁵ and the smelting furnaces which he mentions are sufficient to allow us to form a picture of Naukratis as a metalworking centre,¹²⁶ especially given the absence of any date for these finds, which could very easily go back no further than the Hellenistic-Roman period. Lloyd,¹²⁷ however, suggests that ironworking technology spread from Naukratis into Egypt.

Bresson is of the opinion that Naukratis possessed a shipyard, linking it to Necho's attempt to construct an Egyptian fleet.¹²⁸ Yet it is extremely

¹²⁰ Cf. EXCURSUS: The production of Chian pottery at Naukratis.

¹²¹ Athen. II. 480d-f.

¹²² The problem arises as to whether Athenaios is talking about the Chian chalice at all or about another ordinary drinking cup, the former could not be hung up on a peg as Lemos, 4, correctly observes.

¹²³ Cf. V.3.h. and V.4.c.

¹²⁴ Cf. V.4.e.

¹²⁵ *Naukratis* I, 39 pl. 41.

¹²⁶ Cf. von Bissing, 50; Austin, 31 n. 2.

¹²⁷ Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt*, 329. Haider, 1996, 111, considers Ionian and Carian armourers who came together with the mercenaries as specialists to Egypt.

¹²⁸ Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 320; cf. III.2.a. for discussion and bibliography about Phoenician or Greek triremes.

unlikely that ships were built here: how could they have been constructed in an Egypt without wood, where every piece of timber required for building had to be imported? Surely it would have been much easier to transport the completed ships to Egypt. On the other hand, one may suppose the existence of ship-repairing facilities.

The production of various items was intended primarily to serve local consumption, meaning dedication in the sanctuaries. Evidence for this may be seen in the Chian chalices in the Grand and BF Grand Styles, together with the kantharoi decorated with dipinti; only in a few individual cases, such as can be attributed to chance, were these transported to other places. The unfinished statuettes found in the sanctuaries and surely of local production support this supposition. However, the situation is different with regard to the production of faience articles, since the types produced here have also been discovered at many other places in the Mediterranean area.

A further activity of the inhabitants of Naukratis relates to the services sector. Naukratis was famed for its *hetairai*.¹²⁹ The best-known of these was Rhodopis, called Doricha by Sappho.¹³⁰ She came originally from Thrace, living as a slave on Samos before being taken to Egypt, where she worked in Naukratis as a *hetaira*. When Sappho's brother Charaxos came to Naukratis, he bought her freedom for a considerable price.¹³¹ This all must have taken place at the beginning of the sixth century at the latest, which would contradict Herodotus' statement to the effect that Rhodopis lived at the time of Amasis.¹³² It is further known of her that she remained in Egypt following the purchase of her freedom, acquiring great wealth as a *hetaira*—so much, in fact, that she sent a tenth of her fortune as an offering to Delphi in the form of iron roasting-spits. Herodotus claims that they could still be seen there in his day behind the altar of the Chians.¹³³ The fragment of a dedicatory base has also been found in Delphi—albeit too late for Sappho's time—the inscription of which can be completed to read 'Rhodopis has dedicated' (ἀνέθη]κε Ποδ[ῶπις).¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Hdt. 2. 135. 5; Poseidippos *apud* Athen. 13. 596b ff.

¹³⁰ Sappho frg. 202 LP; Strab. 17. 1. 33 (C808); Athen. 13. 596c mixed the names up completely. Cf. Poseidippos of Pella, *Ep.* 17 GP for Doricha. Cf. Suda, s.v. 'Ποδῶπιδος ἀνάθημα'. J. Boardman, in L. Tsatsikhaladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (1994), 142 n. 13 suggests that Doricha was her 'real' name, Rhodopis her working name.

¹³¹ Hdt. 2. 134–5.

¹³² Hdt. 2. 134; again, this could be proof of Herodotus' preference for putting events into the time of Amasis. Bowden, *Hephaistos* 10, 1991, 50, takes Herodotus' reference to be in favour of dating the beginning of Naukratis to Amasis. However, if we do not want to downdate Sappho well into the 6th c., Herodotus must have been wrong.

¹³³ Hdt. 2. 135.

¹³⁴ Delphi Mus. 7512; *SEG* xiii 364; *LSAG*, 102: Phokian 2nd half of 6th c.; cf. a vase inscription 'Ποδ[ῶπις] (London BM 1910.2–22.139; *Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 34.531; Bernard i 3, 675 no. 340: 'Ποδ--).

Both Herodotus and Strabo mention the story connecting Rhodopis with a pyramid.¹³⁵ Herodotus¹³⁶ disputes whether it could have belonged to the *hetaira*, since she would not have been wealthy enough to pay for the construction, which would have cost countless thousands of talents. Furthermore, he places the pyramid into a considerably earlier time. Strabo¹³⁷ links the construction of the pyramid with Rhodopis, who became the wife of the pharaoh, the latter thereafter causing this pyramid to be built for her. However, Strabo's account reads like a fairy-tale, one in which the king is not further identified. Strabo may possibly have been following a later legend here, one which became intertwined with such a fantasy-provoking figure as Rhodopis.

In addition to Rhodopis, a certain Archedike is also mentioned by name; while her praises were apparently hymned in songs all over Greece, she nonetheless took second place to Rhodopis in fame.¹³⁸

We can thus say with certainty that there were Greeks in Naukratis who settled there with such a degree of permanence that they may justifiably be described as inhabitants. Yet not even the dedications in the sanctuaries enable us to see them as a separate group, given the fact that they did not use a common *ethnikon*, which would be unlikely at home, anyway. Moreover, all the sanctuaries were used by all of the Greeks, as evidenced by the vase inscriptions and the pottery, rendering futile the search for a sanctuary reserved for inhabitants.¹³⁹

We now turn to the traders, doubtless the more important group within the *empóron*. Herodotus¹⁴⁰ introduces them in connection with their altars and sacred sites. He names twelve poleis in all, together with the corresponding *temenea*. The first nine form a symmetrical arrangement. The four Ionian poleis of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae are named, followed by the four Dorian poleis of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis. Although the time in question is in fact before the synoikism of 408/7 BC, Rhodes is nonetheless treated here as one polis, something perhaps easily explained by the symmetrical structure, which

¹³⁵ Cf. Diod. 1. 64. 14.

¹³⁶ Hdt. 2. 134.

¹³⁷ Strab. 17. 1. 33 (C808).

¹³⁸ Hdt. 2. 135; Athen. 13. 596d; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 12. 63; cf. a vase inscription on an Att. bf cup-skyphos (London BM 1911.6-6.17; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 108) with her name (Plate 3d). We might have the name of yet another *hetaira*: [A]άμυρπ[ι]ς (?Ionian bowl London BM 1886.4-1.260; *Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.117: [A]άμυρπ[ι]. [ἀνέθηκε]; Bernard i 3, 650 no. 79). A *hetaira* of this name is known from Athens (Athen. 13. 583e) and from Chios (*LGPN* 1, s.v. *Αάμυρπις*).

¹³⁹ Cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 53 n. 1; Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 214f.; Austin, 25 with n. 1, 31. The determination of the exact find spot of many of the sherds is impossible; only exceptionally do we know them from the old publications and their plates. The inventory numbers of the London BM can only hint at the campaigns when certain sanctuaries were excavated.

¹⁴⁰ Hdt. 2. 178.

would otherwise be disturbed. Herodotus names as ninth the Aeolian polis of Mytilene. It is not until the two additional Ionian poleis of Samos and Miletus are added, each of which has a sanctuary of its own, that an Ionian predominance becomes visible.¹⁴¹ All these are joined by the Dorian polis of Aegina, with its Sanctuary of Zeus.¹⁴²

Herodotus' detailed list is largely substantiated by the archaeological material.¹⁴³ Considerable progress has been achieved in the course of the past years in assigning individual styles of East Greek pottery to their respective production centres, not least through chemical analysis but also by means of traditional stylistic analysis. The Chian local styles are probably the best researched today; discovered in vast quantities in Naukratis in the Temenos of Aphrodite, they have led to its attribution to Chios. Aeolian Bucchero comes from both Aeolian Mytilene and Phocaea with its Aeolian influence; the same may be true of variants of the Aeolian LWG style, although this latter has been considered to date as indigenous to the Aeolian mainland. A variant of the LWG vases, and the canonical bird bowls, were produced in the northern Ionian poleis of Clazomenae and Teos. The Clazomenian bf style also belongs to the polis after which it has been named, whereas the so-called 'Clazomenian-related' vases could have originated from Teos and Phocaea. Miletus is generally regarded now as the main producer of the MWG style, yet the Fikellura style must equally have been developed here, its production perhaps shared by Miletus with Samos and Rhodes. Similarly, bird bowls and Ionian bowls will presumably also have been produced in Miletus. The situation with respect to Samos is more difficult, since the only ware which we can certainly say was produced there so far comprises simple ritual dishes, among them the Hera cups from Naukratis. On the other hand, it is very likely that Fikellura vases, the more elaborate forms of Ionian bowls, and the Ionian Little Master cups were produced in Samian workshops. Not much pottery production can be established in the case of the Dorian poleis. The Wild Goat style formerly considered Rhodian was presumably employed on Rhodes only for simple plates during the LWG phase. However, it is suspected that Vroulian bowls, Ionian bowls with knuckle-bone

¹⁴¹ Cf. Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 309.

¹⁴² Certain Ionian poleis are not to be identified at Naukratis, either by written or by archaeological evidence. Ephesus, however, could now be another polis with Egyptian contacts via Naukratis, since S. Altekamp, *Zu griechischer Architekturoornamentik im 6. und 5. Jh. v.Chr.* (1991), 390f. has had marble fragments from the Apollo temple tested and they turned out to be very likely of Ephesian origin. For Egyptian objects in Ephesus see G. Hölbl, 'Archaische Aegyptiaca aus Ephesos. Vorläufige Bemerkungen zu Neufunden aus dem Artemision', in *Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenböck (1993), 227–53.

¹⁴³ For individual pottery styles see V. 4.a. Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (pp. 224ff.) gives a good overview of the archaeological material, although some of his information is dated.

ornaments, bird bowls and figure vases were produced on Rhodes. Evidence of the presence of Cnidus in Naukratis may be seen in a particular variant of Ionian bowl described as Cnidian on the basis of the Cnidian inscriptions that it carries. Pottery cannot be employed to prove the presence of Halicarnassus, Phaselis, and Aegina¹⁴⁴ in Naukratis, since it has not yet been possible to identify distinctive local styles. It is generally supposed in the case of Aegina that this polis was principally responsible for shipping Corinthian and Attic vases to Naukratis.¹⁴⁵

The Milesian Sanctuary of Apollo, the Samian Heraion, and the Hellenion have been identified by means of vase inscriptions. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to find the Aeginetan Sanctuary of Zeus. We may have here an error in transmission, one transforming the Temenos of the Dioskouroi into a Sanctuary of Zeus, there being such a sacred site on Aegina.¹⁴⁶ To date, efforts to identify inscriptions from the Naukratis Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi as Aeginetan have proved unsuccessful, this source being equally inadequate for the establishment of a connection between the Temenos of the Dioskouroi and Aegina.

The inscriptions also confirm more or less the accuracy of Herodotus' list,¹⁴⁷ though providing insufficient information to enable any statistical statements to be made. Inscriptions can clearly be assigned to Mytilene, Chios, Teos, and Cnidus and perhaps to Phocaea and Clazomenae on the basis of the respective local alphabets or *ethnika*. In general, a strong Ionian predominance can also be determined here.

Although Herodotus' account provides a literary indication of a division into traders and inhabitants, the archaeological evidence points to the *empóron* as a unity. A separation may be detected neither topographically nor in the ritual sphere. Nor can we be certain whether the existence of differing rights between traders and inhabitants should be assumed, the

¹⁴⁴ For Aegina, attempts have been made to identify local workshops; however, they are either too early (cf. S. P. Morris, *The Black and White Style* (1984), 19–35) or have not yet been identified at Naukratis (cf. C. Dehl-von Kaenel, *CVA* (Berlin 6), 88 pls. 39–45).

¹⁴⁵ B. Kreuzer, *Klio* 76, 1994, 113–15 argues against an involvement of Aeginetan traders and in favour of Samians before 535 BC.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. G. Welter, *Ägina* (1938), 91f., 122; AA 1954, 43; E. Kirsten, *Gnomon* 18, 1942, 293; H. Walter, *Ägina. Die archäologische Geschichte einer Insel* (1993) 84ff., for the Temenos of Zeus Hellanios on the Oros. It is very unlikely that a temple of Zeus could have existed at Naukratis and yet remained undiscovered up to now; however, we should perhaps leave open the possibility of the worship of Zeus without a temple being dedicated to him. Since Herodotus has proved very reliable in his report, I would favour an emendation, turning the *τέμενος Διός* into a *τέμενος Διοσκούρων*; cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 121; Austin, 60 n. 1 argues against this emendation. Admittedly, the relationship between Aegina and the Dioskouroi is not that well substantiated, since we have not yet located a Temenos of the Dioskouroi on Aegina.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Austin, 24f., 25 n. 2.

establishment of which could perhaps be attributed to Amasis as a further measure.¹⁴⁸

It has often been suggested that Phoenicians and Cypriots conducted trading activities in Naukratis alongside the Greeks.¹⁴⁹ The material contained in the sources provides inadequate evidence to substantiate this supposition. It is highly likely that Cypriot amphorae were transported by the Greeks themselves to Naukratis, since a trade route must have passed through Cyprus. There is also an absence of evidence to support the existence of Phoenician pottery in any great quantity in Naukratis, although this could be the result of the lack of interest in simple ware on the part of the earlier excavators, who would have discarded it immediately.¹⁵⁰ At all events, the Eastern Delta will have been of greater interest for the Phoenicians. On the whole, therefore, one is led to assume that Naukratis was a purely Greek *emporion*.

Egyptian presence at Naukratis is likely to have been restricted to a few officials and a small number of workers. One should not take Egyptian finds as indicative of an Egyptian quarter in Naukratis,¹⁵¹ since Greeks also took pleasure in Egyptian bric-a-brac or wearing Egyptian amulets. Nor is this confirmed by the topographical evidence. If there had been an Egyptian quarter, Herodotus would perhaps have passed on something about Egyptian sanctuaries.

5. TRADE IN NAUKRATIS

Herodotus tells us that Naukratis was the only *emporion* in Egypt. This information could not better match Polanyi's 'port of trade' model, understood as an institution serving to control trade and contact with foreigners on the borders of a political power. Herodotus further explains how the restrictions on trade were to be carried out, for the Greeks were prohibited from sailing into any of the other mouths of the Nile. In the case of

¹⁴⁸ Bresson, *DHA* 6, 1980, 297, considers the separation between traders and inhabitants the only measure taken by Amasis.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Austin, 28 with n. 3; EXCURSUS: Cypriots at Naukratis?

¹⁵⁰ However, the following Levantine pottery can be identified: torpedo-shaped jar (*Naukratis* I, pl. 16.3), basket-handled jar (*Naukratis* I, pl. 17.17, 20–21), mortarium (*Naukratis* I, pl. 4.2) and more usual containers (*JHS* 25, 1905, fig. 3); cf. Oren, *BASOR* 256, 1984, 39 n. 10 (London BM 1886.4-1.71–81; 1888.6-1.389; 1910.2-22.1). For pieces with inscriptions cf. Bernard i 4, pl. 19.1–2 (London BM 1886.4-1.71–2, 74–5, 77, 79–81; 1888.6-1.390–1). For Levantine pottery shapes and their dating see now G. Lehmann, *Untersuchungen zur späten Eisenzeit in Syrien und Libanon. Stratigraphie und Keramikformen zwischen ca. 720 bis 300 v. Chr.* (1996).

¹⁵¹ A collection of the Egyptian finds, the majority now housed in the Departments of Egyptology at the British Museum, London, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has not been attempted here. Cf. V.3.k. for discussion of a possible Egyptian quarter.

winds¹⁵² rendering entry into the Canobic mouth impossible, the Greeks were obliged to offload their cargo onto so-called *báries*, the flat Egyptian barges, since their sailing ships would have been incapable of traversing the flat and muddy waterways of the Delta.¹⁵³ They could perhaps have attempted to exchange their goods in one of the other mouths so as to avoid the offloading process; however, this was forbidden by the restrictions to which they were subject.

Herodotus views the measures through which Naukratis was established and trade restricted to this one site—both of which he attributes to Amasis—as an honour for the *empóron*. Modern scholars similarly tend towards an interpretation of Naukratis' situation as a monopoly,¹⁵⁴ one to which it owed its prosperity. The special status of Naukratis becomes understandable when viewed against the background of the Egyptian system, which sought to control foreigners and thereby protect the country from foreign influence; at the same time, the restrictions simplified the collection of customs duties and taxes. A similar system for the control of foreigners and goods was practised on the frontier with Nubia during the Middle Kingdom through the fort of Iqen. Securing the Delta against intruders also had a long tradition in Egypt. Rhakotis could have been a stronghold intended as a defence against pirates and other foreigners in the Western Delta.¹⁵⁵

A consideration of those objects found elsewhere in Egypt will serve to illustrate the restriction of Greek trading to Naukratis. First of all, there are the finds from Tell Defenneh, with considerable differences compared to Naukratis.¹⁵⁶ There is an almost complete absence of Wild Goat vases, Ionian bowls, and Corinthian vases, although this is no cause for surprise, their production ceasing along the coast of Asia Minor, or their attraction waning by 570 BC, after which date most of the finds from Tell Defenneh; nor are they to be found at other places after this date. Figure-painted Chian vases are similarly unrepresented, apart from one possible fragment.¹⁵⁷ This is of greater significance, since it suggests that a direct route may not have existed between Naukratis and Tell Defenneh; otherwise, vases perhaps produced in Naukratis would have found their way to Tell

¹⁵² Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 230) identifies these as the Etesian winds.

¹⁵³ Cf. Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 230).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. P. Faure, *La vie quotidienne des colons grecs* (1978), 159; T. F. R. G. Braun, in *CAH*² iii 3 (1982), 40f.

¹⁵⁵ Strab. 17. 1. 6 (C792); cf. M. S. Venit, *JEA* 71, 1985, 185f.; for bibliography P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972), i. 5f., ii. 8f. nn. 20ff. Cf. Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 230).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *Tanis* ii, 61f.; Boardman, *GO*³, 133f. However, one has to consider that the Greek finds came only from two deposits in chambers 18 and 29 (*Tanis* ii, pl. 44).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *Tanis* ii, 62; Boardman, *GO*³, 134; R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 44, 1949, 161; Lemos, 194.

Defenneh, while others from Chios would have reached Tell Defenneh via Naukratis. The same is true of the so-called situlae uncovered in Tell Defenneh, which could have been produced on the spot or in the neighbourhood and have not turned up in Naukratis.¹⁵⁸

Clazomenian vases have been found particularly frequently, the vases of the Petrie Painter occurring almost exclusively in Tell Defenneh, with only a few exceptions uncovered in Naukratis. The quantity of Fikellura vases is comparable to that from Naukratis. Attic bf vases are similarly encountered, as are Samian, Lesbian, and Chian amphorae, together with Attic storage vessels. The presence of these storage vessels would seem to further emphasize the character of the site as one orientated principally towards settlement. This may be contrasted with the situation in Naukratis, primarily to be seen as a concentration of sanctuaries: the finds coming to light here were mainly votive pottery. In addition to pottery, iron weapons and armour were also found in Tell Defenneh, along with the fragment of a tridacna shell, unfinished stone figurines, and two or three Naukratite scarabs.

The finds emerging from Tell Defenneh are presumably sufficient to render superfluous any doubt as to a Greek presence. It can be assumed, however, that Tell Defenneh, an Egyptian fort in which Greeks too served as mercenaries, had a character different from that of Naukratis, an *emporion* with sanctuaries in which many different styles of pottery and other objects were dedicated. It has not proved possible to establish direct contact via the transportation of goods. The evidence by some scarabs of types widely distributed around the Mediterranean which might have found their way from Tell Defenneh to Naukratis is meagre.¹⁵⁹

Fort Migdol, discovered in the Eastern Delta, has yielded no particularly fine pottery but quite a few Greek amphorae from the sixth century BC.¹⁶⁰ Some Clazomenian and Attic sherds have been found at a few other sites in the Eastern Nile Delta;¹⁶¹ these could have reached their place of discovery via Tell Defenneh. With the exception of Naukratis, the quantity of Greek pottery found in the Western Delta is much less than that emerging from its eastern counterpart, comprising merely the fragment of a LWG vase and possibly two Attic bf fragments in Kom el-Baqar,¹⁶² together with two

¹⁵⁸ Cf. EXCURSUS: Situlae.

¹⁵⁹ Gorton, 180, 183, assumes these types might have been produced at Tell Defenneh.

¹⁶⁰ There are local imitations of classical Ionian cups and Ionian bowls; cf. Oren, *BASOR* 256, 1984, 27 fig. 23.2, 42; 24-7 figs. 22ff. for Chian, Samian, Lesbian, Corinthian, and Attic amphorae. Cf. Boardman, *GO*¹, 134f.

¹⁶¹ Cf. M. S. Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 397f.; ead., *JEA* 71, 1985, 187ff.; Venit, *Egypt*, 563ff., for a list.

¹⁶² Venit, *Egypt*, B438, B752, both difficult to date. Bernard i 3, 866; i 4, 1045 for location of Kom el-Baqar.

early Corinthian alabastra and two Attic bf fragments from Alexandria,¹⁶³ these latter perhaps only reaching the find-place later¹⁶⁴ or else possibly indicating the existence of a Rhakotis in the Archaic period.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, only a few isolated sherds reached Middle and Upper Egypt, including vases in the Wild Goat style, Fikellura ware, Clazomenian and Attic bf vases, and Corinthian pottery.¹⁶⁶

Other evidence—in addition to Greek pottery—for the assimilation of Greeks and Carians into the Egyptian culture has also been found in the region surrounding Memphis.¹⁶⁷ The various items include a funerary stele of limestone, bearing a farewell scene in the Greek style under a winged sun as an Egyptian motif, together with a Carian inscription. Or there is a faience ushabti—one of the figurines laid in Egyptian tombs to act as workers in the hereafter—in this case with a late Archaic Greek head. There is also a further funerary stela of limestone with a Carian inscription, depicting a Greek prothesis scene; the pattern of the figures, and the winged sun and uraei—snakes winding upwards from the brow—have their origin in Egyptian visual imagery.

The few vases could have arrived at their place of discovery through the occasional movements of mercenaries or through individual travellers, but they tell us nothing about a lively exchange of articles outside Naukratis. No finds of early Greek objects have been made in the area surrounding Naukratis;¹⁶⁸ the finds in the Eastern Delta and along the Nile indicate merely the presence of mercenaries, not that of traders. Those finds that indicate Graeco-Egyptian assimilation point to the settlement of Greeks and Carians in the Memphis area, something corroborating Herodotus' information¹⁶⁹ concerning the resettling of mercenaries from the *Stratopeda* on the Pelusian arm of the Nile; however, the paucity of the finds, coupled

¹⁶³ Corinthian alabastra: Venit, *JEA* 71, 1985, 183–9; Attic bf: Venit, *Egypt*, 574f., 849 (neck amphora from c.570 BC), 8751 (1st quarter of 5th c., ?manner of Haimon painter). The Attic fragments come from Ptolemaic cemeteries; however, the exact conditions of discovery are unknown.

¹⁶⁴ *Pace* Venit, *JEA* 71, 1985, 187.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 185; Austin, 33 with n. 2.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Venit, *Egypt*, 571, 582f. nn. 60f., for Memphis area. W. Flinders Petrie and J. H. Walker, *Qurneh* (1909), 16 pls. 54.849–50, 55.851–6, reported Samian and Lesbian amphorae in the area of Thebes.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Boardman, *GO*³, 135ff. with figs. 158–61; F. Kammerzell, *Studien zu Sprache und Geschichte der Karer in Ägypten* (1993), 107ff., 119ff., for stelae with figs.

¹⁶⁸ However, *Naukratis* III, 72, mentions apparently early pottery finds in Kom Firin, which were reported earlier (*Fasti Archaeologici* 5 (1952), no. 61); cf. Austin, 33 with n. 2; for Kom Firin see Coulson and Leonard, *AJA* 86, 1982, 376ff. Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 397, casts doubts on these early pottery finds, since she only knows of finds from the 4th c. Haider, 1996, 100, assumes Greek traders in Kom Firin on account of these dubious finds.

¹⁶⁹ Hdt. 2. 154; Kammerzell, *op. cit.*, 173ff., 192f., cannot prove Herodotus wrong, but detects Carians in the Memphite area before Amasis.

with their scattered nature, do not indicate a unified settlement of Greeks in the Memphite nomos.

Despite the discovery of some Greek or Graeco-Egyptian objects such as pottery in further regions of Egypt, therefore, the overwhelming concentration of the finds in Naukratis means that it should be regarded as the site of trading activities between Greeks and Egyptians. Greek mercenaries were also stationed in the Eastern Nile Delta, and sporadically sent southwards along the Nile as far as Abu Simbel, as evidenced by the inscriptions found there.

A further reason for an Egyptian interest in restricting trade to Naukratis was the resultant ease with which taxes could be collected. The stela of Nektanebis I¹⁷⁰ (380 BC) found in the centre of the Great Temenos¹⁷¹ reproduces regulations concerning the taxes due to the Temple of Neïth in Sais. The linguistic idiosyncrasies of this late hieroglyphic text considerably impede a correct interpretation; however, the following gives a rough idea of the general sense.

The King gave the Temple of Neïth in Sais first of all a tenth¹⁷² of all the gold, silver, timber, and worked wood, of everything coming from the Greek Sea, and of everything reckoned to the royal domain (i.e. the Treasury) in the town named *Hent*.¹⁷³ Secondly, he gave the goddess a tenth of the gold and silver as well as of all goods produced in *Pi-emrôye*, called [Nau]kratis and lying on the banks of the Anu River,¹⁷⁴ such as were handed over to the royal domains.¹⁷⁵ The daily sacrifice of the previously fixed amount of an ox, a fat *ro* goose, and five measures of wine were paid for out of these contributions. This stela was to be erected in Naukratis, where it was also found.

Wilcken¹⁷⁶ drew attention to an interesting parallel in the pseudo-

¹⁷⁰ Cairo 34002, H. Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie* (1965), pls. 23–4; for translation M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, iii (1980), 86–9; for discussion and older translations A. Erman and U. Wilcken, *ZÄS* 38, 1900, 127–35; K. Sethe, *ZÄS* 39, 1901, 121–3; B. Gunn, *JEA* 29, 1943, 55–9; Kienitz, 89, 123, 200; M. Lichtheim, in *Studies in Honor of G. R. Hughes*, ed. J. P. Allen and E. F. Wente (1976), 139–46, esp. n. 1 for literature. Kienitz, 199, discussed the difficulty in distinguishing between Nektanebis (I) and Nektanebos (II) in Egyptian texts. B. Gunn, *JEA* 29, 1943, 55, and U. Wilcken, *ZÄS* 38, 1900, 134, ascribe the stele incorrectly to Nektanebos.

¹⁷¹ *JHS* 25, 1905, 106, 122.

¹⁷² Cf. Lichtheim, op. cit., 140; Sethe, *ZÄS* 39, 1901, 122.

¹⁷³ Its location is unknown.

¹⁷⁴ i.e. the Canobic branch of the Nile.

¹⁷⁵ Lichtheim, op. cit., 141, interprets these sentences as meaning one-tenth of all the goods that are taxed (or taxable) at Naukratis, not one-tenth of all goods manufactured there. According to Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, iii (1980), 87, this cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of a 10% customs tax and a 10% tax on trade.

¹⁷⁶ Wilcken, *ZÄS* 38, 1900, 133–5.

Aristotelian *Oikonomika*,¹⁷⁷ where it was recorded that Tachos (363/2–362/1 BC),¹⁷⁸ following the advice of Chabrias the Athenian, also imposed a 10 per cent tax on the proceeds accruing from ships, workshops, and all other forms of business. Despite a number of unclear points, this may be seen as referring to a restoration of the tax laid down by Nektanebis I a mere twenty years before. This is hardly surprising in the confused years of the fourth century.

However, it can also be assumed that the regulations of Nektanebis I were not introduced by him, but rather that these taxes had a long tradition and had been in effect at Naukratis since the reign of Amasis.¹⁷⁹ One indication is contained in the text of the stela (line 11): 'in addition to that which pertained before'. This could signify that Nektanebis I's gift increased the income of the temple, as compared to former times. The erection of a statue of Nekhthorheb,¹⁸⁰ overseer of the delta at the time of Amasis and thus responsible for ensuring the implementation of the regulations, can also be seen as an indication that such regulations were already in existence with respect to Naukratis.

The imported goods cited on the stela of Nektanebis I include gold, silver, timber, and worked wood. Dues were also imposed on the Naukratis workshops, although we can be certain of this only for the fourth century; perhaps it was also true on a limited basis for the sixth and fifth centuries. The available evidence to date supports the existence solely of the faience workshop, that of pottery workshops being merely postulated.

What is known about objects traded in Naukratis in detail and other than those mentioned above? The Egyptian pharaohs generally satisfied their demand for gold from mines in their own sphere of influence, these also yielding 'white gold' before the Middle Kingdom, which occurred as a gold-silver compound in the mines.¹⁸¹ In contrast, there was a lack of pure silver and wood, the Egyptians procuring the latter primarily from Lebanon, either through the Phoenicians, who will have been considerably involved in such acquisitions, or through expeditions sent there by the Egyptians themselves.¹⁸² We can only speculate as to the importance of Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries.

Greece and the zones of Greek contact possessed a good many high-yield deposits of silver.¹⁸³ It is possible that Tartessos was one of the

¹⁷⁷ Ps.-Aristot. *oik.* 2. 2. 25 (1351³–6)

¹⁷⁸ For dating cf. Kienitz, 175–8.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Kees, *Das alte Ägypten* (1955), 116f.; Austin, 29; Lloyd *com.*, 2. 178 (p. 223).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Tresson, *Kémi* 4, 1931, 126–44; Posener, *RPh* 21, 1947, 127ff.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Trigger, in *Ancient Egypt*, 34.

¹⁸² Cf. III.1.; W. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jt. v.Chr.* (1975), 264.

¹⁸³ Cf. M. Cary, in *Mélanges G. Glotz* (1932), 136–9.

principal sources of silver during the seventh century and the first half of the sixth century, although Herodotus' information concerning Kolaïos and the Phocaeans is not clear on that.¹⁸⁴ However, the Phoenicians will presumably also have played a role in transporting Spanish silver to Egypt.

Numerous hoards of Greek silver coins have been discovered in Egypt, and especially in the Delta region—as elsewhere in the Near East—the oldest of which has been dated to 500 BC.¹⁸⁵ The Egyptian redistributive system meant that there was no demand for coins, and it was not until the fourth century BC that the Greek model prompted stamped pieces of metal in Egypt as well.¹⁸⁶ Greek silver coins will thus have satisfied the demand for silver as a precious metal, accordingly having little significance as coins *per se*, this supposition is further supported by the frequent discovery of scrap silver and gashed coins.¹⁸⁷ Silver was a prestige object in Egypt, circulating only among the elite, who utilized it either for gift exchange or to demonstrate their wealth.

Attempts have been made, using the Greek coins' places of origin, to draw conclusions as to the identity of those who transported them;¹⁸⁸ as with the pottery, however, such attempts can only be successful in isolated cases. Scepticism is called for here, since roughly a third of the coins from the hoards come from the Thraco-Macedonian coast, the inhabitants of which are not otherwise known to have had any particular involvement in Egypt. Attic, Corinthian, and Laconian pottery must likewise have been carried to Egypt by Greeks other than those responsible for its production. As regards the attempt to identify the carriers of the Thraco-Macedonian coins, a triangular trading pattern has been postulated:¹⁸⁹ the Ionians, bringing wool and other products to Thrace, exchanged them there for silver coins, which they used in turn in Egypt, exchanging them for grain. Milne, the first to advance this 'corn-and-coin' theory, justified it by pointing out that it accords with market principles. However, these can

¹⁸⁴ Hdt. I. 163 speaks of a bronze krater, not a silver one. Roebuck, *Trade*, 98, therefore concludes that bronze (which is an alloy, however), and not silver, was transported from there. Arganthonios gave the Phocaeans *chremata*, which could have comprised silver.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Austin, 37–40, 38 with n. 1 for the most important coin hoards. Add A. Price and N. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (1975), a chronological review is given on 16–22. See also M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and C. M. Kraay (eds.), *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (1973), 225–30 for archaic hoards in Egypt.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. J. W. Curtis, *The Numismatist* 1951, 482–91; id., *JEA* 43, 1957, 71–6; F. Daumas, *MEFRA* 89, 1977, 425–40; A. B. Lloyd, in *CAH* vi (1994), 352f.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Austin, 38 with n. 2; Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 237.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 236–9; Austin, 39f.

¹⁸⁹ J. G. Milne, *JEA* 25, 1939, 179f.; C. H. V. Sutherland, *AJPh* 64, 1943, 129–47. O. Murray, *Early Greece* (1993), 235, adheres to an albeit smaller trading cycle by which he explains the significance of Naukratis: Egypt gave grain and got silver to pay its mercenaries.

only be such as may be encountered in an industrialized Europe, its markets regulated by the price mechanisms of supply and demand.¹⁹⁰

Milne¹⁹¹ also assumed a close connection between the invention of coinage and the emergence of trade. However, coinage can now no longer be regarded simplistically as a means of facilitating external and internal exchange; rather, it has been suggested that its invention should be seen within the contexts of competition amongst Greek poleis, of the payment of mercenaries, and of a symbol of the state's sovereignty.¹⁹² The fact that the majority of the coins tended to be retained in the region where they had been minted,¹⁹³ and that the early coins were far too valuable to be suitable for daily use on the market-place,¹⁹⁴ indicates that the early examples cannot have served as a generally valid means of exchange.

It may safely be assumed that Greeks carried silver to Egypt on account of its value as a metal, exchanging it there for grain. Since the grain was accumulated in the royal storehouses, it was subject to the supervision of the pharaoh and his officials. Thus the Greeks, seeking to obtain the desired grain, were compelled to do this via the official channels and exchanged the prestigious silver for it, this process ensuring that the latter remained in the hands of the elite.

It is generally assumed that the Greeks focused their primary interest in trade with Egypt upon grain.¹⁹⁵ However, the available sources provide but scant information, not only with regard to the import of grain by Greek poleis during the Archaic period but also concerning the question of a specific grain trade with Egypt: on the one hand, grain naturally decomposes and thus leaves no archaeological trace; on the other, the literary sources say nothing about grain shipments in the Archaic period. It is not until the beginning of the fifth century that there is mention of ships loaded with grain coming from Egypt, bringing wealth over the sea.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ Cf. M. I. Finley, in *Trade and Politics*, 25, criticizing Milne's theory.

¹⁹¹ Milne, *JEA* 25, 1939, 180.

¹⁹² Cf. R. M. Cook, *Historia* 7, 1958, 257–62; C. M. Kraay, *JHS* 84, 1964, 76–91; id., in *CAH* iv (1988), 443 ff.; M. I. Finley, in *Trade and Politics*, 19; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Annales ESC* 23, 1968, 206–8; Austin, 37–40; A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (1980), 134 ff.; Austin and Vidal-Naquet, 56 ff. T. R. Martin, *Historia* 45, 1996, 257–83, denies the argument for coins being a symbol of sovereignty or autonomy.

¹⁹³ Cf. Kraay, *JHS* 84, 1964, 76–88; id., in *CAH* iv (1988), 443 ff.; E. Schönert-Geiss, *Klio* 53, 1971, 105–17, remarks—with not a little surprise—that it is impossible to detect trading contacts in the northern Black Sea area by finds of coins.

¹⁹⁴ This is now being challenged by an unpublished M.Phil. thesis from Oxford (H. S. Kim, 'Greek Fractional Silver Coinage: A Reassessment of the Inception, Development, Prevalence and Functions of Small Change during the Archaic and Early Classical Periods', 1994); cf. C. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (1995), 7.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Milne, *JEA* 25, 1939, 177–83; Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 236–47; Austin, 35; Lloyd, 29 f.; B. Bravo, in *Trade and Famine* 19; against the importance of Naukratis regarding the grain exchange argued H. Michell, *Economics of Ancient Greece* (21957), 263.

¹⁹⁶ Bakchyl. fr. *20B (Maehler).

It is also for this time that we find an indication in Herodotus¹⁹⁷ of grain shipments from the Black Sea. It has often been supposed that what Herodotus calls *empória* in the Black Sea region also provide evidence of the existence of a grain trade¹⁹⁸ at the same time that Naukratis was an *empóron* in Egypt. However, Noonan¹⁹⁹ has proved conclusively that the Greeks did not export grain from the region until the fifth century. The settlements were initially farming colonies,²⁰⁰ only later being called *empória* due to their function as places of *emporía*. Thus, it cannot be assumed unconditionally that trading in grain was a general phenomenon in the Archaic period.

The theory that Naukratis was exporting grain at the end of the seventh century and in the sixth century cannot be substantiated: evidence of grain importation prior to the fifth century by some of the poleis involved in Naukratis is not available, while the evidence that we do have points at best to grain importation in general, and not specifically to that from Egypt.²⁰¹ Yet we may perhaps voice the supposition that Egypt initially served as the granary. The Phoenicians could have been responsible for bringing the Greeks the news of an abundance of grain, since they too received grain from Egypt.²⁰² With the growing unreliability of conditions there following the Persian conquest, or perhaps following the increased shortage of grain due to the payments of tribute to the Persian Great King, the Greeks may possibly have turned to the Black Sea region, which they had already settled with colonies.

We can be certain that grain was not the only item that the Greeks obtained from Egypt.²⁰³ Egyptian linen was known in Greece, where it was used both for clothing and in the production of ropes.²⁰⁴ Papyrus, employed in Homeric times to make ropes,²⁰⁵ became the principal writing material in the Classical period.²⁰⁶ Since it grows almost exclusively in

¹⁹⁷ Hdt. 2. 147.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. R. M. Cook, *JHS* 66, 1946, 79; C. Roebuck, *CPh* 48, 1953, 13; Roebuck, *Trade*, 128–30; E. Will, in *Trade and Politics*, 57.

¹⁹⁹ T. S. Noonan, *AJPh* 94, 1973, 231–42.

²⁰⁰ R. M. Cook, *JHS* 66, 1946, 79, considers the colonies on the Black Sea and in the Levant less independent than those in the west.

²⁰¹ Teos: ML, 30A lines 6–12 (1st half, 5th c.); Lesbos: Thuk. 3. 2 (428 BC), Tod ii, 163 (mid-4th c.); Clazomenae: Tod ii, 114 line 18 (387/6 BC); cf. Ps.-Aristot. *oik.* 2. 2. 16 (1348^b17ff.); Miletus: Hdt. 1. 17–22 does not mention any import of food during Alyattes' raids; however, Miletus had control over the sea. Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 245 n. 36.

²⁰² Cf. E. Semple, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 11, 1921, 51.

²⁰³ D. Mallet, *Les premiers établissements des Grecs en Égypte* (1893), 277–364, has collected many items—however, more on the assumption of what comprised the Egyptian riches than with regard to those in which the Greeks may have been interested.

²⁰⁴ Hdt. 2. 105, 182; cf. Austin, 36 with n. 1, for more references.

²⁰⁵ Hom. *Od.* 21. 390f.

²⁰⁶ Hdt. 5. 58.

Egypt, the Greeks were compelled to obtain it from there. It is conceivable that they were already doing so before the end of the seventh century, using the Phoenicians as middlemen as apparently indicated by the term *byblos* or *biblos*. Papyrus could have been one of the goods transported on Greek ships at the time of their involvement in Naukratis.²⁰⁷

Many of the items for which Egypt was known and famed could also have come to Greece through traders and travellers stopping over in Naukratis, including various minerals, ivory and ebony, resins for the preparation of perfumes, alabaster vessels for storing the latter, and so on.²⁰⁸ These goods naturally do not testify to any regular trade with Egypt, but were rather of cultural significance, and provide evidence of a contact which could still have been conducted on a very personal level at this time.

What products could the Greeks offer the Egyptians in exchange? The most important Greek products—alongside the silver mentioned above—are considered to be wine and oil. Since these liquids were normally transported in amphorae, one could logically expect their existence to be proved through finds of the appropriate sherds. Unfortunately, full details of the amphorae uncovered in Naukratis have never been published; moreover, it is probable that the majority of such sherds were immediately destroyed on the spot at the time of the original excavations, since they will not have been especially attractive or characteristic. Some of those Archaic amphorae known to us through drawings point to poleis also mentioned by Herodotus.²⁰⁹ Only in the fourth century, does the scrutinizing of amphorae becomes more revealing for an assessment of trade, when the handles were stamped;²¹⁰ but this period lies outside the bounds of this study.

However, we do possess literary information such as provides evidence of the transport of wine and oil to Egypt, even if the anecdotal nature of the relevant contexts inevitably allows no conclusion to be drawn as to the extent of *emporía* in wine or olive oil. We learn that Charaxos, Sappho's

²⁰⁷ Cf. Austin, 36 with n. 2.

²⁰⁸ Hdt. 2. 180 for alum salt; Mallet, op. cit., 287f., for sodium bicarbonate. Cf. J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca* (1930); R. B. Brown, 'A Provisional Catalogue of and Commentary on Egyptian and Egyptianizing Articles Found on Greek Sites' Ph.D. thesis, Minnesota (1975); Boardman, *GO*³, 141–53; Lloyd, 31f.

²⁰⁹ Chian amphorae: *Naukratis* I, 21, 23 pls. 16.4, 7; 17.23; von Bissing, 37; cf. *Tanis* ii, 64; Samian amphora: *Naukratis* I, pl. 16.2 (Dupont, *PP* 37, 1982, 208); Lesbian amphora: *Naukratis* I, pl. 16.6. Cf. generally V. Grace, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, 52–95; *Samos* iii, 101 f.; more amphorae, also of Phoenician and Cypriot origin: *Naukratis* I, 42 pls. 16–17; *JHS* 25, 1905, 123–6; cf. also Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade* (1979); P. Dupont, *PP* 37, 1982, 199–209; id., *Dacia* 27, 1983, 42, distinguishing amphorae from Chios, Clazomenae, Lesbos, Miletus, and Samos by chemical analysis, but none from Rhodes; E. Doğer, in *BCH* suppl. 13 (1986), 461–71 for identification of Clazomenian amphorae.

²¹⁰ Cf. *Naukratis* I, 43; W. D. E. Coulson, N. C. Wilkie, and J. W. Rehard, 'Amphoras from Naukratis and Environs', in *BCH* suppl. 13 (1986), 535–50, for the latest finds during the American survey.

brother, took wine with him from Lesbos to Egypt 'in pursuit of trade' (*κατ' ἐμπορίαν*),²¹¹ and hear that Plato sold olive oil in Egypt so as to finance his journey through the country.²¹² The two can hardly be described as traders; accordingly, all that can be drawn from these accounts is the fact that both Greek wine and olive oil were used as exchange items.

The purchasers will presumably have been the Greeks themselves, on the one hand, those who preferred their native products to those produced locally,²¹³ but also Egyptians, and here again the elite, the usual Egyptian beverage being beer²¹⁴ and the use of sesame oil being frequently mentioned in the New Kingdom.²¹⁵ In fact, wine and olive oil cannot have found any great demand among the Egyptians, since Archaic Greek amphora sherds have not yet come to light to any great extent outside of those find spots where Greeks are also known to have settled. An account by Herodotus²¹⁶—albeit one from a later period—attempts to give an explanation for the absence of empty vessels in Egypt. He reports that the empty vessels were collected, filled with water, and transported into the Syrian desert as part of the water-supply provisions. It is unclear how much belief should be accorded this account, although it has to be said that the neck of a Chian amphora sealed with the cartouche of Amasis has been found in Tell Defenneh.²¹⁷ This could point to the re-use of Greek amphorae; it could equally bear witness to Egyptian customs and import controls.

The only general conclusion that we can record is thus that any observations with regard to the articles exchanged in Naukratis belong for the most part to the realm of conjecture. There is little archaeological evidence to support the presence of the exchange objects. The existence of painted pottery can be proven best, yet this cannot be considered a possible item for exchange with the Egyptians.²¹⁸ With regard to written sources, we possess merely literary accounts containing little information on this account. We can still hope that a list of objects exchanged might one day emerge from the Egyptian side, as the papyrus palimpsest from Elephantine which records the customs duties on all imports and exports on Ionian and Phoen-

²¹¹ Strab. 17. 1. 33 (C808)

²¹² Plut. *Sol.* 2

²¹³ Cf. Austin, 37; J. G. Milne, *JEA* 25, 1939, 178, disputes Egyptian purchasers. Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 37 n. 6.

²¹⁴ Hdt. 2. 77

²¹⁵ Hdt. 2. 94 mentions castor oil. Cf. A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (1962), 327ff., for oils.

²¹⁶ Hdt. 3. 9.

²¹⁷ Cf. *Tanis* ii, 64 pl. 36.5; Boardman, *GO*³, 129 fig. 152.

²¹⁸ Cf. Roebuck, *CPh* 45, 1950, 236.

ician ships and the kind of goods they carried during the year 475 BC.²¹⁹ To date at Naukratis, however, we only know of the stela of Nektanebis I from 380 BC. Nonetheless, the many pottery fragments found in the sanctuaries of Naukratis bear silent witness to the fact that for many Greeks the risk of the long sea voyage was well worth while.

6. SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted, using both literary and archaeological evidence, to re-examine the status of Naukratis. One of the advantages of the application of Karl Polanyi's 'port of trade' model is that it directs our attention to the Egyptian context of Naukratis, away from the exclusive context of Greek colonization. When viewed against the background of the Egyptian system, the special status of Naukratis becomes easier to understand. For Egypt, the Greek *emporion* served as a device of Egyptian external trade, which is why the Greeks became Egypt's external traders. To concentrate foreigners to one point of contact not only served to control them, but at the same time simplified the collection of customs duties and taxes. For the Greeks, this 'port of trade' was their only opportunity to get access to grain which was centrally collected and administrated by the pharaoh's officials.

Herodotus' statement that Amasis gave Naukratis to the Greeks, granting the Greeks the right to build sanctuaries and altars and giving land to those who wanted to settle there, cannot be sustained. The archaeological evidence points to a much earlier appearance of Greeks there at around 625 BC. One can only reconcile this temporal difference by assuming that it was Herodotus who credited Amasis—besides other benefactions—with giving Naukratis to the Greeks, although there might have been some reorganization and confirmation of its status when Amasis came to power as is suggested by the increase of building activity at that time. The initial conferral of land can probably be attributed to Psammetichus I, who also welcomed Greek mercenaries to Egypt.

An examination of its topography reveals that no division emerges between the *polis* Naukratis and the *emporion* Naukratis, as Herodotus' account has sometimes been taken to suggest. The temples are spread over the entire area of what may be called Archaic Naukratis. Nor can the other archaeological evidence be interpreted as suggesting separate domestic districts, a district for public buildings, or a harbour district. Not even Petrie's 'Great Temenos' supports the argument for an Egyptian quarter in

²¹⁹ B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, iii (1993), C3.7; A. Yardeni, *BASOR* 293, 1994, 67–78.

Archaic times, since, on account of the American survey, it can be dated to the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, Herodotus apparently had the entire area in mind when describing it as an *empóron*. He, however, over-estimated the esteem in which it was held.

The picture derived from the evidence supports the assumption that Naukratis resembled a 'port of trade' very closely, a settlement which lay isolated but comfortably close to waterways or other means of transportation, providing some sort of infrastructure. There were *hetairai* and craftsmen to keep this infrastructure alive, and it is probably these whom Herodotus refers to as the inhabitants. Although it lacked public buildings, there were *prostatai tou emporiou* who dealt with matters of the *empóron* and who were matched by the Egyptian 'Overseer of the Gate to the Foreign Lands of the Great Green', who was responsible for the supervision of foreign traffic in the delta and the collection of taxes for the Temple of Neïth in Sais.

Herodotus' division of the people in Naukratis into traders and inhabitants need not, therefore, contradict his use of the term *empóron* to describe a settlement of Greeks whose principal occupation was trade. Not even the dedications in the sanctuaries enable us to see them as separate groups. All the sanctuaries were used by all of the Greeks, as evidenced by the vase inscriptions and the pottery, albeit that certain poleis focused more on some sanctuaries than others.

Thus, the picture emerging from the evidence shows Naukratis as an isolated *empóron* in the Western Nile Delta, given to the Greeks by the pharaoh, supervised by his officials, giving access to the centrally collected and redistributed grain and other prestige items, and which was populated by traders from many different Greek poleis and the community which built up to service them. This *empóron* where two different economic systems and cultures met, we may confidently take as most closely resembling the ideal-type of the 'port of trade'.

APPENDIX:

Lists of Selected Finds from Naukratis

The following lists are by no means a comprehensive catalogue; they should rather be understood as prolegomena to a complete catalogue of finds from Naukratis, which is still a desideratum. Today, more than a hundred years after the discovery and subsequent excavation of Naukratis, the collection and appropriate publication of a *catalogue raisonné* would require a team of specialists, and was beyond the scope of this book.¹

What I intended to achieve was the identification of pieces published in the old excavation reports and an indication of the variety of pottery styles found at Naukratis. In a way, these lists are outgrown footnotes. As it seemed impossible to compile even all pottery published—I did not seek to collect unpublished material comprehensively either—the lists are necessarily incomplete, and one should be wary of attempting statistics. Although important publications such as Beazley's *ABV* and M. S. Venit's works² facilitated the making of the lists greatly, they can only reflect the ongoing controversies about different pottery styles—especially noticeable with the Wild Goat style. I have attempted to incorporate the vases bearing inscriptions with which I have dealt in Chapter V.4.g. However, this was impossible in cases where the identification of the piece or its style was hindered by lack of inventory numbers or good descriptions.

The chronological chart of Greek pottery styles (Plate 8) is hampered by the same lack of secure data. It represents, however, an impression of the chronological distribution of the different Greek pottery styles present at Naukratis and a rough indication of the relative amount of each style.

Since the predominant number of pieces in my lists are fragments anyway, I do not state this each time explicitly.

¹ The pottery finds were widely distributed and can be found today in collections and museums at the following places: Alexandria, Amsterdam, Berlin, Bonn, Bolton (Lancashire), Boston, Brussels, Bulak (Egypt), Cairo, Cambridge, Dublin, The Hague, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Leyden, London (BM, which got the lion's share, and UCL), Manchester, Munich, Oxford, Paris, Reading, Toronto.

² Venit, 'Egypt'; Venit, *Naukratis*, (Attic and WG style are not completely incorporated into my lists); cf. Boardman, *Gnomon* 62, 1990, 473f.; M. S. Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 141–54; M. S. Venit, *JEA* 71, 1985, 183–9; M. S. Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, 391–8.

I. POTTERY

a. *List of Corinthian Vases*

Transitional

1. Boston 09.210 bowl (Fairbanks, no. 340 pl. 37; Boardman, GO³, 121 fig. 138, around 630 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 89f. A115 pl. 63)
2. Oxford kotyle (Payne, NC, 25 n. 6, type fig. 9a; Venit, 'Egypt', 94 A127, identical with Oxford G 121.14?; cf. Venit, *Naukratis*, 60 n.1)
3. London BM 1924.12-1.1179 kotyle (Payne, NC, 279 no. 191.1, type fig. 9c, end of 7th c.; Venit, 'Egypt', 93 A126; Johnston, no. 27, gives this as miniature skyphos)

Early Corinthian

1. Oxford G 127.3 round aryballos (Payne, NC, no. 503B; Amyx, 96 B5 near Duel Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 55 A14)
2. Oxford G 120.30 round aryballos (CVA (2) iii c pl. 6.21; Venit, 'Egypt', 54f. A13)
3. London BM 1924.12-1.1216 round aryballos (Johnston, no. 26; Venit, 'Egypt', 54 A12 pl. 43)
4. Boston 86.562 round aryballos (Fairbanks, no. 344.2 pl. 37; Venit, 'Egypt', 55 A15)
5. Alexandria 9379 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 51 A17 pl. 1.44; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 217 pl. 50: last quarter 7th c.)
6. Alexandria 17022 round aryballos (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 218 pl. 50: last quarter 7th c.)
7. Boston 86.564 alabastron (Fairbanks, no. 344.4 pl. 37; Venit, 'Egypt', 51 A5)
8. London BM 1924.12-1.1192 alabastron (Payne, NC, 467; Venit, 'Egypt', 50 A3)
9. Cambridge N 94-5 alabastron (Venit, 'Egypt', 51 A4 pl. 41)
10. London BM 1924.12-1.1045 kotyle (Venit, 'Egypt', 94 A128 pl. 6)
11. London BM B 102.8 bowl (Payne, NC, no. 718; Venit, 'Egypt', 90 A116 pl. 54)
12. London BM 1924.12-1.1193+ bowl (Venit, 'Egypt', 90f. A117)
13. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 167 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 100 A149 pl. 70)
14. Boston 86.881 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 100 A150 pl. 70)
15. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 168 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 101 A151)

16. Boston 86.511 column-krater (Fairbanks, no. 341.1 pl. 37; cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; *ABSA* 44, 1949, 251 no. 12; Venit, 'Egypt', 101 A152)

Middle Corinthian

1. Heidelberg (Payne, *NC*, 25 n. 6: scale pattern group, around 600 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 64 A42)
2. Cambridge N6 (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 18.46; Payne, *NC*, 25 n. 6: scale pattern group, around 600 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 64 A41)
3. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 183 ring-aryballos (*BABesch* 52–53, 1977/8, 148 no. 118; Venit, 'Egypt', 80 A91 pl. 58)
4. Boston 86.561 round aryballos (Fairbanks, no. 344.1 pl. 37; cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; Venit, 'Egypt', 59f. A28)
5. Boston 86.559 round aryballos (Fairbanks, no. 344.2 pl. 37; cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; Venit, 'Egypt', 59 A25)
6. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 178 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 60 A29 pl. 45)
7. London BM 1924.12–1.1188 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 58 A23)
8. London BM 1924.12–1.1183 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 59 A26)
9. London BM 1924.12–1.1184 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 59 A27)
10. Oxford G127.2 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 60f. A31 pl. 46)
11. London BM 1924.12–1.1187 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 61 A32 pl. 46)
12. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 186 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 61 A33 pl. 46)
13. London BM 1886.4–1.1298 (A 1520) round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 61f. A34 pl. 47)
14. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 187 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 62 A35 pl. 47)
15. Cambridge N94–5 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 63 A36 pl. 47)
16. Cambridge N238 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 63 A38 pl. 48)
17. London BM 1924.12–1.1218 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 63 A39 pl. 48)
18. Oxford round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 63 A40 pl. 48)
19. London BM 1924.12–1.1219 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 64 A43 pl. 49)
20. Alexandria 16876 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 64 A44 pl. 49; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 220 pl. 50)
21. Alexandria 17258 round aryballos (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 219 pl. 50)
22. Boston 86.560 round aryballos (Fairbanks, no. 346.2 pl. 37; Venit, 'Egypt', 65 A46 pl. 49)
23. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 189 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 65 A47)

24. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 185 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 65f. A48)
25. London BM 1924.12-1.1214 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 66 A49 pl. 50)
26. London BM 1924.12-1.1215 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 66 A50 pl. 50)
27. Cambridge N94-5 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 66f. A51 pl. 51)
28. London BM 1888.6-1.650 (A 1407) alabastron (Payne, *NC*, no. 797; Venit, 'Egypt', 53 A7 pl. 43)
29. London BM 1924.12-1.1192 oinochoe (Venit, 'Egypt', 84 A101 pl. 59)
30. Alexandria 9329 oinochoe (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 222 pl. 50)
31. Alexandria 17177 oinochoe (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 223 pl. 50)
32. London BM 1886.4-1.1136 lid (Venit, 'Egypt', 86 A107 pl. 60)
33. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 182 bowl (Venit, 'Egypt', 91 A118 pl. 54)
34. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 181 bowl (Venit, 'Egypt', 91 A119)
35. London BM B 102.72-4 bowl (Venit, 'Egypt', A 120 pl. 65)
36. London BM B 102.7.1 bowl (Venit, 'Egypt', A 121 pl. 66)
37. Oxford G 127.1a-c plate (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 6.15-17; Payne, *NC*, no. 1037; Venit, 'Egypt', 93)
38. Cambridge N240 kotyle (Venit, 'Egypt', 94 A129 pl. 57)
39. London BM 1924.12-1.1189 kotyle (Venit, 'Egypt', 94f. A130 pl. 58)
40. London BM 1924.12-1.1182 kotyle (Venit, 'Egypt', 95 A131 pl. 58)
41. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 191 kotyle (Venit, 'Egypt', 95 A132 pl. 38)
42. Toronto 910×234.16 (c18) kotyle (Venit, 'Egypt', 95f. A132bis pl. 58)
43. Boston 86.879 kotyle (Venit, 'Egypt', 96 A134 pl. 6)
44. Boston 88.832 kotyle (Fairbanks, no. 342 pl. 37; cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; Venit, 'Egypt', 96 A133 pl. 69)
45. (a) Boston 86.631 column-krater ((a) Fairbanks, no. 341.3 pl. 37;
(b) Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 165 cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; *ABSA* 44, 1949, 251 no. 12; (c) *CVA* (1), pl. 23.27; Venit, 'Egypt', 102f. A155)
(c) Reading 26.2.90
46. London BM 1888.6-1.562 column-krater (*Naukratis* II, pls. 10, 21.780; graffito: Φίλις μ'ἀνέθηκε ο(ὐ)πικά[ρτ]ο(υ)ς ...ο τῇ(ι) Ἀφροδίτῃ; Bernand i 3, 685 no. 431; *SGDI*, 5765; Payne, *NC*, no. 1160; Venit, 'Egypt', 101 A153; Amyx, 319 A p-3 perhaps Detroit Painter)
47. London BM 1886.4-1.1119 (B 102.16) column-krater (Payne, *NC*, no. 1180; Venit, 'Egypt', 104 A159 pl. 72; Amyx, 508 n. 277)
48. Oxford 1912.33 column-krater (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 6.20; Payne, *NC*, no. 1190; Venit, 'Egypt', 105 A162; Amyx, 567 no. 41)

49. London BM B600.12 column-krater (Payne, *NC*, no. 1191; Venit, 'Egypt', 105f. A164 pl. 73)
50. London BM 1886.4–1.789
(B 102.5) column-krater (*Naukratis* I, pl. 33.330; dipinto: [Σθέν]ελος, graffito: [Μ]ἄτρως; Payne, *NC*, no. 1179; cf. Payne, *NC*, 163 no. 16 fig. 44E; Prinz, 73; F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen* (1979), no. 43 fig. 29 pl. 10; Venit, 'Egypt', 106f. A166; Amyx, 234 A p-2 presumably Ophelandros Painter)
51. column-krater (*Naukratis* I, pls. 6.6, 35.665; graffito: Δ]ιοσκοροίσι/...ἄν]έθη[κεν)
52. Oxford 1888.185 column-krater (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 6.14; Venit, 'Egypt', 107 A167; Amyx, 200 D6 Klyka Painter)
53. London BM 1886.4–1.1101 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 103 A156 pl. 71)
54. Cambridge N8 column-krater (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 18.54; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9 pl. 8.6; graffito:]ΣΑΑ[; Bernand i 3, 706 no. 642; F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen* (1979), 50 no. 60 pl. 14; Payne, *NC*, 164 no. 22; Venit, 'Egypt', 105 A161)
55. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch.
NA 164 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 103 A157)
56. London BM 1886.4–1.1099 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 103 A158 pl. 72)
57. Bonn Inv.-no. 697.82 column-krater (*AA* 51, 1936, 362 fig. 16; *ABSA* 44, 1949, 251 no. 10; Venit, 'Egypt', 105 A163)
58. London BM 1888.6–1.561
(B 103.10) column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 106 A165 pl. 73)
59. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch.
NA 173 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 107 A168 pl. 74)
60. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch.
NA 174 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 107f. A169 pl. 74)
61. Alexandria 9488 column-krater (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 227 pl. 51)
62. Oxford G 121.19 ?aryballos (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 6.22; Venit, 'Egypt', 115f. A193)
63. Boston 88.1075 found in the temenos of the Dioskouroi (Fairbanks, no. 341.2 pl. 37; cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; *ABSA* 44, 1949, 251 no. 12; Venit, 'Egypt', 118 A202)

Middle or Late Corinthian

1. London BM 1924.12–1.1190 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 67 A52 pl. 51)
2. London BM 1924.12–1.1191 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 67 A53 pl. 52)
3. London BM 1924.12–1.1176 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 67 A54 pl. 52)
4. London BM 1924.12–1.1173 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 68 A55 pl. 52)
5. London BM 1924.12–1.1274 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 68 A57 pl. 52)
(or 1217)
6. Alexandria 16877 round aryballos (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 221 pl. 50)
7. Oxford G 133.3 pyxis-lid (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 6.19; Payne, *NC*, no. 1332A; Venit, 'Egypt', 86 A108)
8. Boston 86.518 column-krater (Fairbanks, no. 341.4 pl. 37; cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; *ABSA* 44, 1949, 251 no. 12; Venit, 'Egypt', 108 A172)
9. column-krater (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.779; Bernand i 3, 684 no. 430; incised: $\acute{o} \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha \acute{o} \epsilon\upsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega$ [ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ὁ Τῆ[υος; cf. V.4.g. Teos no. 3])
10. Alexandria 17268 kotyle (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 226 pl. 51)

Late Corinthian I

1. Cambridge N94–5 round aryballos (Venit, 'Egypt', 70 A62 pl. 54)
2. Boston 86.563 round aryballos (Fairbanks, no. 343 pl. 37; cf. Payne, *NC*, 340; Venit, 'Egypt', 71 A64)
3. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 188 trefoil aryballos (*ABSA* 70, 1975, 148 n. 6; Johnston, no. 25; Venit, 'Egypt', 74 A77 pl. 55)
4. London BM 1886.4–1.1143 (A 1021) oinochoe (Venit, 'Egypt', 85 A105 pl. 60)
5. Brussels Mus. Cinq. A 2050 oinochoe (*CVA* (3) pl. 8.7; Benson (1953), 112 fig. 49; Venit, 'Egypt', 85 A104)
6. Reading 14.9.84 kylix (*CVA* (1) pl. 2.11; Venit, 'Egypt', 93 A125)
7. London BM 1888.6–1.585 redground krater (Payne, *NC*, no. 1470A; Venit, 'Egypt', 111 A180)
8. Cambridge N7 redground krater (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 18.53; Payne, *NC*, 169 no. 72; Venit, 'Egypt', 109 A174)
9. Oxford G 130.12 redground krater (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 6.26; Payne, *NC*, no. 1470B; Venit, 'Egypt', 110 A177; Amyx, 626c)
10. London BM 1886.4–1.1259 (B 102.29) redground krater (Payne, *NC*, 169 no. 71; Venit, 'Egypt', 110 A178 pl. 76)
11. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 169 redground krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 110 A179)

12. Dublin v4006 (UCD 310) column-krater (*JHS* 91, 1971, 116 no. 12 pl. 14L; Venit, 'Egypt', 111 A181)
13. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA166 column-krater (Venit, 'Egypt', 113 A187 pl. 7)
14. Alexandria 17167 column-krater (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 228 pl. 51)
15. Alexandria 17025 column-krater (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 229 pl. 52)
16. Alexandria 17290 column-krater (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 230 pl. 52)
17. London BM 1924.12–1.1204 krater of Chalcidian shape (Payne, *NC*, no. 1485)
18. Cairo Je 46336 ?lid (Payne, *NC*, no. 1470; Venit, 'Egypt', 86 f. A109 pl. 61; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 224 pl. 51; cf. Boardman, *Gnomon* 62, 1990, 474)
19. Alexandria 9507 ?lid (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 225 pl. 51; Boardman, *Gnomon* 62, 1990, 474)
20. Alexandria 9480 closed shape (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 231 pl. 52)
21. Alexandria 17112 closed shape (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 232 pl. 52)
22. Alexandria 9333 open shape (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 233 pl. 52)

Late Corinthian II

1. Oxford pyxis frgts. (*CVA* (2) iii c pl. 6.23–5; Payne, *NC*, no. 1491 2nd half of 5th c.; cf. Venit, *Naukratis*, 60 n. 2)

b. List of Athenian Vases

Nettos Painter

1. Toronto 910×234.20 (c22) krater/dinos (*CVA* (1) pl. 39.1; Boardman, *GO*³, 125 fig. 142 (wrong inv.-no.): 620/00 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 337 B400 pl. 170 Iekanis lid; against this attribution cf. Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 143)

Early Olpai

1. London BM 1886.4–1.738 (B102.3) from the temenos of Apollo, well 2 (*Naukratis* I, pls. 6.2, 33.223; incised (bustrophedon): —]κεστος μ'ἀνέθηκ[ε] τ'ῶπόλλωνι; Bernard i 3, 661 no. 184; *ABV*, 14.1; Venit, 'Egypt', 298 B287 pl. 133; Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 141 f. fig. 1 similar to the Nettos Painter)
2. Alexandria 19866 (Venit, 'Egypt', 452 B754 pl. 30; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 142 fig. 2; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 287 pl. 64 contemporary with Nettos Painter)

3. London BM 1888.6–1.566 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 9.5; Beazley and Payne, 253 no. 1 fig. 1; *ABV*, 15.22; Venit, 'Egypt', 298 B288; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 142 parallels with Nettos Painter)
4. London BM 1886.4–1.737 (B 102.2) (*Naukratis* I pls. 6.1. 33.219; incised: ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε τῶπὸλλωνι τῶι Μιλησίῳ[ι; Bernard i 3, 661 no. 180; *ABV*, 15.25; Venit, 'Egypt', 304 f. B308 pl. 137; cf. V.4.g. Miletus no. 4)
5. (a) Oxford 1912.37 ((a) *CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.26; *ABV*, 15.21; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 305 B309 pl. 141)
6. Heidelberg 200 (M43) (*CVA* (1) iii H pl. 31.8; *ABV*, 15.29; Venit, 'Egypt', 304 B306)
7. Oxford C 137.19 (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.29; *ABV*, 15.33; Venit, 'Egypt', 303 B304)
8. London BM 1886.4–1.1171 (Beazley and Payne, 254 no. 2 pl. 15.32; Payne, *NC*, 193 pl. 53.6; *ABV*, 15.28; Venit, 'Egypt', 299 B289; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 142)
9. Oxford C 128.13 (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.2; Venit, 'Egypt', 287 f. B261: ?dinos; Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 143 still 7th c.)
10. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 200 amphora (Venit, 'Egypt', 200 B1 pl. 84; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 143 fig.3 around 600 BC)
11. London BM 1886.4–1.234 (B 102.23) (Beazley and Payne, 254 no. 4 pl. 15.10; Payne, *NC*, pl. 53.3; *ABV*, 14.13; Johnston, no. 30; Venit, 'Egypt', 304 B307)

Gorgon Painter and his Circle (c.600–580 BC)

1. (a) London BM 1888.6–1.579 plate (a+b) Beazley and Payne, 255 no. 6 fig. 2.1–2; Payne, *NC*, 192 no. 3 pl. 53.4; (b) London BM 1888.6–1.588b (B 601.25) Johnston, no. 28; (c) *CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.3–4; (d) *CVA* (1) pl. 39.3; *ABV*, 9.19; *Paralipomena*, 7; *Addenda*², 3; Venit, 'Egypt', 350 B439 Gorgon Painter
2. London BM B 103.20.1 (or 2) olpe (Payne, *NC*, 193 pl. 53.5; *ABV*, 13.34; Venit, 'Egypt', 299 B290 pl. 133 Gorgon Painter)
3. London BM 1888.6–1.588 (B 103.20.2 or 1) olpe (Beazley and Payne, 254 no. 5 fig. 2.4; *ABV*, 13.35; Venit, 'Egypt', 299 B291 pl. 134)
4. Alexandria 17026 lekaneis (Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 145 fig. 6 workshop of Gorgon Painter)
5. Oxford C 137.17 olpe (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.27; *ABV*, 13.36 manner of the Gorgon Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 301 B298)

6. Oxford G 131.13 olpe (CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.31; ABV, 13.37 manner of the Gorgon Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 302 B299)
 7. Oxford G 550 olpe (CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.30; ABV, 13.41 manner of the Gorgon Painter or maybe by the painter himself; Venit, 'Egypt', 302 B300)
 8. (a) Boston 88.827 lekythos (Fairbanks, no. 353.3 pl. 38; ABV, 13.45 manner of the Gorgon Painter; *Addenda*², 4; Venit, 'Egypt', 315 B335, 303 B303)
 - (b) London BM 1965.9–30.843 [D.Williams]
 9. (a) London BM B 102.22 olpe ((a) Beazley and Payne, 254 no. 3 pl. 17.10; ABV, 11.13 manner of the Gorgon Painter; (a + b) Venit, 'Egypt', 301 B297)
 - (b) London BM B 103.20
 10. Oxford G 137.16 olpe (CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.28; ABV, 11.9 manner of the Gorgon Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 300f. B295)
 11. Oxford G 128.30 olpe (CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.25; ABV, 11.10 manner of the Gorgon Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 301 B296)
 12. Alexandria 9340 olpe (Venit, 'Egypt', 302f. B301 pl. 18.135; ead. *JARCE* 21, 1984, 145 fig. 5; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 268 pl. 61 manner of Gorgon Painter)
 13. Alexandria 17157 olpe (Venit, 'Egypt', 303 B302 pl. 18.136; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 145 fig. 7; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 267 pl. 60 manner of Gorgon Painter)
- Ceramicus Painter and his Circle (c.600–580BC)
1. Cambridge 94–5.N.175 (CVA (2) iii H pl. 20.14; ABV, 19.9; *Addenda*², 6; Venit, 'Egypt', 452 B755 Ceramicus Painter)
 2. Cambridge 94–5.N.176 (CVA (2) iii H pl. 20.13; ABV, 19.10; *Addenda*², 6; Venit, 'Egypt', 452 B756 Ceramicus Painter)
 3. (a) Oxford G 137.15 olpe (a) CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.32; ABV, 14.7 (early olpai), 20.1 near the Ceramicus Painter or maybe by the painter himself; *Paralipomena*, 9; (b) Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 269 pl. 61; (a + b) Venit, 'Egypt', 305f. B310 pl. 18.138)
 - (b) Alexandria 9384
 4. Oxford G 128.15 lid (CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.6; ABV, 20.3; Venit, 'Egypt', 338 B402 near Ceramicus Painter)
 5. Oxford 1912.33 lid (CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.12; ABV, 20.4; Venit, 'Egypt', 337f. B401 near Ceramicus Painter)

cf. G. Bakir, *Sophilos. Ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* (1981) (=Bakir)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. (a) London BM B 100
(b) London BM B 601.26
(c) Reading 26.ii.1
[D.Williams] | dinos (a+b) <i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 9.6; Beazley and Payne, 256 no. 8 pl. 17.8 fig. 4.5; <i>ABV</i> , 39.13; <i>Addenda</i> ² , 10; Bakir, pls. 66–70 figs. 131–8 B.1; Venit, 'Egypt', 291 B270; (c) <i>CVA</i> (1) pl. 23.40; <i>ABV</i> , 41.34; <i>Addenda</i> ² , 11; Bakir, pl. 81 fig. 164 B.26 Umkreis; Venit, 'Egypt', 291 B271; (a–c) D. Williams, <i>Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum</i> , Occasional Papers on Antiquities 1, 1983, 32.34 fig. 35 |
| 2. (a) London BM B 103.16
[Bothmer]
(b) London Petrie Mus. of
Egyptology | (E. Kunze, <i>AM</i> 59, 1934, 96 n.1 Beil. 10.1; here (b) is given as in London UC) |
| 3. Cambridge 99.N.128 | dinos (<i>CVA</i> (2) iii H pl. 21.33; <i>ABV</i> , 39.14; <i>Addenda</i> ² , 10; Bakir, pl. 65 fig. 129 A.6; Venit, 'Egypt', 292 B273) |
| 4. Cambridge 99.N.173 | (<i>CVA</i> (2) iii H pl. 20.35; Bakir, pl. 84 fig. 174 B.24; Venit, 'Egypt', 289 B266) |
| 5. Oxford G 128.27 | (Bakir, pl. 84 fig. 176 B.27; Venit, 'Egypt', 455 B764 pl. 225) |
| 6. Oxford G 128.20 | neck-amphora (<i>CVA</i> (2) iii H pl. 1.37, <i>ABV</i> , 38.4; <i>Addenda</i> ² , 10; Bakir, pl. 65 fig. 127 A.13; Venit, 'Egypt', 216 B48) |
| 7. (a) London BM 1888.6-
1.570a–d.g
(b) London BM 1965.9-
30.759 | dinos-stand (Williams, op.cit., 13 fig. 9 near 560 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 257 B171 pl. 104, 459 B776 pl. 229, 480 B837 pl. 241) |
| 8. (a) London BM 1888.6-
1.570e–f.h
(b) London BM 1965.9-
30.807. 808 | dinos-stand (Williams, op.cit., 15f. fig. 12 near 560 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 480f. B838 pl. 242, 480 B837 pl. 241) |
| 9. (a) London BM B 103.14.1
(b) London BM B 103.14.2 | dinos ((a) <i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 9.7; (b) Beazley and Payne, 256 no. 9 fig. 2.3; (a+b) Bakir, pl. 64 fig. 123 A.7; Venit, 'Egypt', 290 B268 pl. 228.129; cf. objecting Williams, op.cit., 33) |
| 10. Alexandria 9314 | dinos (Venit, 'Egypt', 292 B274; ead., <i>JARCE</i> 21, 1984, 149f. fig. 16; Venit, <i>Naukratis</i> , no. 265 pl. 60) |
| 11. Brussels Mus. Cinq. A 1862 | plate with high foot (<i>CVA</i> (3) iii He pl. 28.11; Venit, 'Egypt', 352 B445; ead., <i>JARCE</i> 21, 1984, 150) |

Unattributed Vases of 1st quarter of 6th c.

1. London BM 1886.4-1.1229 (B 600.33) dinos (Beazley and Payne, 256 no. 11 pl. 17.7; Venit, 'Egypt', 388 B555 pl. 193)
2. (a) Toronto 910×234.14 (c16) ?dinos (a) *CVA* (1) pl. 39.2; (b) *CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.19; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 298 f. B264 [Boardman]
3. London BM B600.50 ?kantharos (Beazley and Payne, 258 no. 15 pl. 15.19; Venit, 'Egypt', 355 B453)
4. Oxford G137.9 kantharos (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 3.11; Beazley and Payne, 258 see no. 14: 2nd quarter 6th c., but close to other kantharoi of the same type; Venit, 'Egypt', 355 B454)
5. Oxford G565 kantharos (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 3.12; Beazley and Payne, 258 see no. 14; Venit, 'Egypt', 356 B455)

Polos Painter and his Circle (c.585 to mid-6th c.)

(cf. *ABV*, 43; *BABesch* 46, 1971, 105; accepted dating 590–570 BC; but cf. 'Tocra' i, 97, 104 f.; 'Tocra' ii, 48: 2nd quarter of 6th c.; Boardman, *ABFV*, 19: 575–565 BC)

1. London BM B103.26 Iekanis (*ABV*, 46.77; Venit, 'Egypt', 334 B389 pl. 167)
2. London UC N16 ?Iekanis (*ABV*, 48.132)
3. Oxford G551 Iekanis (*CVA* (2) pl. 1.18; Payne, *NC*, 191; *ABV*, 46.83; Venit, 'Egypt', 335 B394)
4. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA202 plate (D. Callipolidis-Feytmans, *Les plats attiques à figures noires* (1974), 348 no. 68; Venit, 'Egypt', 352 B444 pl. 177)
5. Oxford G553 Iekanis (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.22; *ABV*, 46.84; Venit, 'Egypt', 336 B395)
6. Oxford G522 plate (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.20; *ABV*, 47.122; Venit, 'Egypt', 351 B442)
7. Oxford G554 plate (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.23; *ABV*, 47.123; Venit, 'Egypt', 351 B441)
8. Oxford G128.12 plate (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.21; *ABV*, 47.109; Venit, 'Egypt', 351 f. B443)
9. Oxford G128.39 (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.24; *ABV*, 48.134; Venit, 'Egypt', 473 B816)
10. Alexandria 19861 lid (Venit, 'Egypt', 344 B423 near Polos Painter; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 151 fig. 18; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 282 pl. 63)
11. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 205 (Venit, 'Egypt', 480 B835 pl. 240 companion of the Polos Painter; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 151 f. fig. 19)

12. Oxford G 120.25 (Venit, 'Egypt', 474 B 817 pl. 238 companion of the Polos Painter; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 152 fig. 20, ?from the Hellenion)

Komast Group

(cf. Payne, *NC*, 194–201; Boardman, *ABFV*, 18: c.585–570 BC)

KX painter (c.580–575 BC)

1. Boston 88.952 Iekanis (Fairbanks, no. 347.5 pl. 38; *ABV*, 27.32; Venit, 'Egypt', 332 f. B384)
2. London BM 1886.4-1.1156 (B 600.4) Iekanis (Venit, 'Egypt', 333 B386; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 147 fig. 10)
3. Boston 88.954 Iekanis (Fairbanks, no. 347.6 pl. 38; *ABV*, 27.3; Venit, 'Egypt', 479 B833 pl. 240)
4. Oxford G 128.3 amphora (*CVA* (2) pl. 1.11; *ABV*, 27.7; Venit, 'Egypt', 204 B14)
5. London BM 1888.6-1.588i dinos (Beazley and Payne, 256 no. 10 pl. 15.11; *ABV*, 27.2; Venit, 'Egypt', 292 B275)
6. (a) Cambridge 71.N.131 kantharos (a) *CVA* (2) iii H pl. 21.40; (b) London BM 1888.6-1.444 (B 601.14) Beazley and Payne, 258 no. 14 pl. 15.17; *ABV*, 26.29; Johnston, no. 35; Bernard i 3, 733 no. 940; painted: Πάτροϋλ[ος (a+b) *Addenda*², 8; Venit, 'Egypt', 345 B449)
7. (a) London BM 1886.4-1.1061 kylix (Beazley and Payne, 259 no. 20 pl. 15.8.31; Payne, *NC*, 194; *ABV*, 26.26; *Addenda*², 7; Venit, 'Egypt', 439 B714; Brijder I, 63 ff. pl. 1a PK.9: c.585–80 BC Corinthianizing)
- (b) London BM 1914.3-17.10 Iekanis (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.10; *ABV*, 24.5; Venit, 'Egypt', 333 B385)
8. Oxford G 137.10 Iekanis (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 1.1; *ABV*, 24.9; Venit, 'Egypt', 339 B405)
9. Oxford G 128.7 lid (a) Fairbanks, no. 346.6 pl. 37; *ABV*, 25.11
10. (a) Boston 88.1078 (b) *ABV*, 25.12; (a-c) Venit, 'Egypt', 344 B422 pl. 24.173
- (b) London BM B 103.25 (c) London BM 1924.12-1.29 (Beazley and Payne, 256 ff. no. 13 pls. 15.45, 18; *ABV*, 28.3 manner of KX painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 345 B450)
11. (a) London BM B 601.16 (b) London BM B 601.44

KY painter (Brijder I, 76: c.575–565 BC)

12. London BM 1888.6-1.594 (B 103.28) kylix (Beazley and Payne, 259 no. 22 pl. 15.7; Payne, *NC*, 194 no. 4bis; *ABV*, 32.13; Venit, 'Egypt', 368 B493; Brijder I, K.37 later period)
13. Oxford G 137.18 kylix (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 2.4; Payne, *NC*, 194 no. 4ter; *ABV*, 35.5; Venit, 'Egypt', 368 B495; Brijder I, K.38 later period)

14. Boston 88.1036 oinochoe (Fairbanks, no. 349 pl. 38; *ABV*, 31.5; Venit, 'Egypt', 306 B 311)
15. (a) London BM 1888.6–1.599 column-krater (a) Beazley and Payne, 256 no. 12 pl. 15.1, 2.6; Payne, *NC*, 196 no. 35;
(b) Oxford G 128.18 (b) *CVA* (2) iii H pl. 2.3; *ABV*, 33.4 manner of KY painter; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 261 B 182
- Falmouth Painter* (Brijder I, 79: beginning of 560s to 1st half of 550s BC)
16. London BM B 600.6 kylix (Beazley and Payne, 259 no. 21 pl. 15.12; Payne, *NC*, 194 no. 13; *ABV*, 34.5; Venit, 'Egypt', 368 B 494; Brijder I, κ.73 later period)
- Palazzolo Painter* (Brijder I, 80: around 560 BC or slightly later)
17. London BM B 103.2 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 21.826; incised: *OHNAΘA*; Beazley and Payne, 260 no. 25 pl. 16.2; *ABV*, 35.5; Venit, Egypt, 370 B 500)
- Unattributed Vases of the Komast Group and Related Painters*
18. Oxford G 131.32 column-krater (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 2.2; *ABV*, 36.1 connected to Komast Group; Venit, 'Egypt', 262 B 184)
19. (a) Oxford G 131.31 column-krater (a) *CVA* (2) iii H pl. 2.1; *ABV*, 36.2 connected to Komast Group; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 262f. B 185; (b) Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 253 pl. 57
(b) Alexandria 9317 [Venit]
20. London BM B 103.21.1 column-krater (*ABV*, 37.4; Venit, 'Egypt', 263f. B 187 pl. 109)
21. London BM B 103.21.2 column-krater (*ABV*, 37.5; Venit, 'Egypt', 263 B 186 pl. 109)
22. Toronto 933.69.2A/B (C1305) (*CVA* (1) pl. 31.1r; *ABV*, 35.11 unallotted; *Addenda*², 9; Venit, 'Egypt', 368f. B 496)
23. London BM B 601.46 ?kantharos (Beazley and Payne, 258 no. 16 pl. 15.15; *ABV*, 37.10 connected to the Komast Group; Venit, 'Egypt', 354 B 451)
24. (a) London BM B 103.29(?) skyphos (Beazley and Payne, 258 no. 17 pl. 15.16; *ABV*, 37.8 connected to the Komast Group; Venit, 'Egypt', 360 B 466 pl. 180)
(b) London BM 1965.6–10.2
25. London BM 1888.6–1.584a–i skyphos (Beazley and Payne, 259 no. 18 pl. 15.9; *ABV*, 37.9 connected to the Komast Group; Venit, 'Egypt', 360 B 467 pl. 181)
26. Alexandria 9358 amphora (Venit, 'Egypt', 204f. B 15 pl. 9.85; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 234 pl. 52 around 570 BC; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 148; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 234 pl. 52 connected with the Komast Group)

27. Cambridge N94-5.3 kylix (Venit, 'Egypt', 369 B497 pl. 186; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 148 related to the Komast Group)
28. Oxford (Venit, 'Egypt', 479 B834 pl. 240; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 148 related to the Komast Group)
29. Alexandria 9485 lekaneis (Venit, 'Egypt', 334 B388 pl. 23.166; ead., *JARCE* 21, 1984, 148f.; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 278 pl. 62 connected with the Komast Group)
30. London BM B601.39 skyphos (Beazley and Payne, 259 no. 19 pl. 15.23 contemporary with the Komast Group; Venit, 'Egypt', 361 B470)

?Group of Dresden Lekaneis

(cf. *ABV*, 21ff.; Venit, *JARCE* 21, 1984, 144 n. 16: no vase identified)

1. London BM B101 column-krater (*Naukratis* II, pl. 13.2; Beazley and Payne, 256 no. 7 fig. 3; Payne, *NC*, 201; Venit, 'Egypt', 258 B172)

Siana cups (c.575–555 BC)

1. (a) London BM B601.41 ?and double-decker (Beazley and Payne, 259f. no. 23 pls. 16.10–11, 17.23; close to Komast cups; more
(b) London BM 1886.4- (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 376 B520)
1.1056a
2. London BM B103.17 (Beazley and Payne, 260 no. 24 pl. 17.2 related to the Komast group, Siana foot; Venit, 'Egypt', 378f. B527)
3. Cambridge 94–5.N.218 overlap (CVA (2) iii H pl. 21.41; *ABV*, 52.19 C Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 370f. B501; Brijder I, no. 171 Taras Painter late period)
4. London BM 1965.9-30.761 overlap (*ABV*, 54.66 C painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 371 B503 pl. 187; Brijder I, no. 180 Taras Painter late period)
5. London BM 1888.6–1.398 overlap (*ABV*, 55.78; Venit, 'Egypt', 372 B505; Brijder I, no. 51 C Painter middle period)
6. London BM 1965.9-30.760 overlap (*ABV*, 54.52; *Addenda*², 14; Venit, 'Egypt', 371 B502 pl. 187; Brijder I, no. 88 C Painter late period)
7. Oxford 1953.632 overlap (*ABV*, 55.80; *Addenda*², 15; Venit, 'Egypt', 372 B507 pl. 188; Brijder I, no. 96 pl. 20c C Painter late period)

8. Oxford 1953.630 overlap (ABV, 54.58 C painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 371 B504 pl. 187; Brijder I, no. 313 pl. 60l related to the C Painter)
9. London BM 1888.6-1.756 double-decker (Brijder I, no. 305 pl. 60h related to the C Painter)
10. Cambridge N183 kylix (CVA (2) iii H pl. 20.22; Venit, 'Egypt', 440f. B720; Brijder I, no. 251 pl. 47d Malibu Painter late period)
11. Oxford G 376+G 137.57 double-decker (Brijder I, no. 280 fig. 68a Double-Palmette Painter)
12. London BM 1888.6-1.318 double-decker (Brijder I, no. 281 fig. 68b Double-Palmette Painter)
13. London BM B600.28 Siana cup (*Naukratis* I, pl. 13.4; Beazley and Payne, 260 no. 26 pl. 16.5; ABV, 67 manner of the Heidelberg Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 378 B525; Brijder II, no. 474 pl.150d)

Kleitias and his Circle

1. London BM B601.17 kantharos (Beazley and Payne, 262f. no. 32 pl. 15.24; ABV, 78.3 near Kleitias; Venit, 'Egypt', 355 B452)
2. London BM 1888.6-1.441-2 (B601.13) lebes (Beazley and Payne, 262 no. 31 pl. 16.6.17; Johnston, no. 29; ABV, 80.2 Painter of Akropolis 601)

Horse-head amphorae

1. London BM 1886.4-1.1197 (Venit, 'Egypt', 204 B13 ?580-570 BC; Venit, *Naukratis*, 68 n. 7 with man's head)

The following are possibly from Naukratis:

2. London BM 1965.9-30.835 (A. Birchall, *JHS* 92, 1972, 58 pl. 10c; Venit, 'Egypt', 202 B6 early 6th c.)
3. London BM 1965.9-30.836 (Birchall, *JHS* 92, 1972, 50 pl. 10d: closely related to the Painter of the London horse-head; Venit, 'Egypt', 202 B5 early 6th c.)
4. London BM 1965.9-30.837 (Birchall, *JHS* 92, 1972, 58 pl. 10e; Venit, 'Egypt', 202 B7 early 6th c.)

Gordion cups and related

(cf. Robertson, *JHS* 71, 1951, 143ff. (=Robertson); Beazley, *JHS* 52, 1932, 185f. close to 560 BC)

Ergotimos-Kleitias group

1. (a) London BM 1948.8-15.1-2 (Robertson, 143f. no. 1 fig. 1; (c, d) Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.13f.; (f) CVA (2)
- (b) London BM 1888.6-1.215 iii H pl. 21.11; ABV, 78.14; Johnston no. 34;

- (c) London BM 1888.6-1.424 (B601.4.1) (a-f) Venit, 'Egypt', 381 B533; *Naukratis* II, pl. 21.827, 828, 831; painted: [Ἐ]ργότιμος
- (d) London BM 1888.6-1.425 (B601.4.2) εἰ[π]οίεσεν [Κλειτ]ίας ἔγραψεσεν
- (e) London BM 1888.6-1.427 (B601.5)
- (f) Cambridge 94-5.N.206
2. (a) London BM 1888.6-1.237 (Robertson, 144 no. 2 fig. 1; *ABV*, 78.15;
- (b) London BM 1888.6-1.324 Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.12; *ABV*,
- (c) London BM 1888.6-1.426 78.15; (a-d) Venit, 'Egypt', 381 B534; *Naukratis*
- (B 601.4) II, pl. 21.829; painted: [Κλειτ]ίας ἔ[γραψεσεν])
- (d) London BM 1948.8-15.3-4
3. (a-d) London BM 1948.8-15.5-8 (Robertson, 144ff. no. 3 fig. 1; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45; *ABV*, 79; *Naukratis* I, pl. 34.446; incised (?boustrophedon): —]ς με ἀνέ[θηκε/...]ς)

Sondros group

4. London BM 1888.6-1.429 (B601.6.1) Robertson, 146 no. 4 fig. 2; *ABV*, 173.1; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.22; Venit, 'Egypt', 382 B537; *Naukratis* II, pl. 22.849 painted: Σὸνδρος: [ἐποίησεν]
5. London BM 1888.6-1.431-2 (B 601.6.3-4) Robertson, 146 no. 5 fig. 2; *ABV*, 173.2; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.15; Venit, 'Egypt', 382f. B538; *Naukratis* II, pl. 22.852 painted: Σὸν[δρος] ἐποίησεν
6. (a) London BM 1888.6-1.430 (B601.6.2) Robertson, 146 no. 6 fig. 2; *ABV*, 173.3; *Ad-denda*², 49; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.17; (a) *Naukratis* II, pl. 22.850 painted: Σὸνδ[ρος]; (b) *CVA* (2) iii H pl. 21.8; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 383 B539
7. (a) London BM 1888.6-1.434 (B601.6.6) Robertson, 146ff. no. 7 fig. 2; *ABV*, 173.4; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.11;
- (b) London BM 1948.8-15.9 Venit, 'Egypt', 383f. B541; painted: Σ[ὸνδρ]ος
8. London BM 1888.6-1.428 (B601.5.1) Robertson, 148 no. 8 fig. 2; *ABV*, 173.5; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.21; Venit, 'Egypt', 383 B540; painted: Σὸν[δρος]

Varia

9. London BM 1888.6-1.433 (B601.6.5) Robertson, 148 no. 9 fig. 2; *ABV*, 187.1; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.19; Venit, 'Egypt', 384 B542; painted: ἐποίησεν
10. London BM 1948.8-15.10 Robertson, 148 no. 10 fig. 2; Venit, 'Egypt', 384 B543

11. London BM 1948.8-15.11-12 Robertson, 148 no. 11 fig. 2; Venit, 'Egypt', 348f. B544
12. Cambridge 94-5.N.124.G.68 CVA (2) iii H pl. 21.24; Robertson, 148 no. 12 fig. 2; Venit, 'Egypt', 385 B545
13. London BM 1948.8-15.13 Robertson, 149 no. 13 fig. 1; Beazley and Payne, 267f. no. 48 pl. 16.4; Johnston, no. 33; ABV, 168.1 Phrynos Painter; Venit, 'Egypt' 385 B546
14. (a) London BM B601.10 Robertson, 149 no. 14 fig. 2; ABV, 79;
(b) London BM B601.7 Beazley and Payne, 270 no. 58 pl. 17.26; Venit, 'Egypt', 381f. B535; painted: (a) κύλ]ικα
(b) καλόν εἶμ]ι ποτέρι[ον]
15. London BM 1900.2-14.4 lip- or Gordion cup of son of Ergotimos (ABSA 5, 1898/9 pl. 4.50a; Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 45 pl. 17.20: Eucheiros or another son; ABV, 163; Beazley, JHS 52, 1932, 192; Robertson, 144 with n. 11; Venit, 'Egypt', 415 B641; painted: 'E]ργοτί[μου]

Camtar Painter (c.550 BC)

1. London BM B601.18 neck-amphora (Beazley and Payne, 262 no. 30 pl. 16.7; ABV, 84: compare also the fragment; Venit, 'Egypt', 217 B50)

Painter of London B76

1. London BM 1886.4-1.1223 neck-amphora (*Naukratis* I, pl. 13.5; Beazley and Payne, 261 no. 28 pl. 16.12; ABV, 86.11; *Addenda*², 24; Venit, 'Egypt', 220 B62)

Tyrrhenian amphora (c.565-550 BC)

1. Oxford C137.53 (CVA (2) iii H pl. 1.36; Payne, NC, 140; ABV, 96.11; *Addenda*², 25; Venit, 'Egypt', 220 B63)

Unattributed vases of the 2nd quarter of the 6th c.

1. London BM from shoulder of a large vase (Beazley and Payne, 261 no. 27 pl. 16.8: about 570 BC)
2. London BM 1885.8-6.1 neck-amphora (Beazley and Payne, 261 no. 29 pl. 16.16; Johnston, no. 31; Venit, 'Egypt', 234 B101; LSAG 334 n. 1: Ion. alphabet; Bernard i 3, 733 no. 942; incised: Ἀλέξα(ν)δρος, perhaps recent)
3. London BM B600.39 ?lid (Beazley and Payne, 263 no. 33 pl. 15.13 early mid-6th c., recalls Lydos)

4. London BM B600.20 amphora (Beazley and Payne, 263 no. 34 pl. 17.3 early mid-6th c.; Venit, 'Egypt', 205 B16)

Amasis Painter (c.560–525 BC; Isler 106: 550/45–515 BC)

(cf. D. v. Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World: Vase-Painting in Sixth-century B.C. Athens* (1985) (=Bothmer); H. P. Isler, *JDAI* 109, 1994, 93–114 (=Isler)

1. London BM B600.48 olpe (Beazley and Payne, 264 no. 40 pl. 16.14; *ABV*, 155.69; Venit, 'Egypt', 308 B316)
2. Oxford G567 oinochoe (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 3.14; *ABV*, 153.35; Venit, 'Egypt', 309 B320)
3. Oxford G137.52 oinochoe (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 3.17; *ABV*, 154.46; *Addenda*², 44; Beazley and Payne, 264 see no. 41; Venit, 'Egypt', 310 B321; Bothmer, 159 no. 35; Isler: 540–530 BC)
4. Oxford G137.45 oinochoe shape III or olpe (*CVA* (2) iii H pl. 3.16; *ABV*, 155.70; Venit, 'Egypt', 307 f. B315)
5. London BM 1886.4-1.1225 (B600.31) oinochoe shape III or chous (*Naukratis* I, pl. 13.7; Beazley and Payne, 264 no. 41 pl. 15.29; *ABV*, 155.67; *Addenda*², 45; Venit, 'Egypt', 210 B30; Bothmer, 87 fig. 61: chous; Isler: 550–540 BC)
6. London BM 1888.6-1.596 (B601.37) band-cup (Beazley and Payne, 269 no. 54 pls. 16.26. 17.28; *ABV*, 156.82; Venit, 'Egypt', 293 B571; Isler: around 540 BC)

Little Master cups and related (c.560–530 BC)

1. Amsterdam band-cup of ?Hermogenes (Prins de Jong, pl. 3.4; *ABV*, 186)
2. Boston 86.589 skyphos of Hermogenean type (Fairbanks, no. 357.7 pl. 39; *Paralipomena* 87.28)
3. Oxford G137.31 'head-cup' (Beazley, *JHS* 52, 1932, 174 fig. 7)
4. London BM B601.38 lip- or band-cup, unusual Little Master cup (Beazley and Payne, 267 no. 46 pl. 17.24; Venit, 'Egypt', 379 B530 Siana cup)
5. London BM 1909.2-16.2 (Beazley and Payne, 267 no. 47 pl. 16.3)
6. London BM 1886.4-1.1240 (B600.40) lip-cup (Beazley and Payne, 268 no. 49 pl. 17.29; *ABV*, 62; Venit, 'Egypt', 387 B551; painted:]πσοιέας ἐ[ποίησεν])
7. London BM 1888.6-1.789 (B601.47) band-cup (Beazley and Payne, 269 no. 51 pl. 15.14; Venit, 'Egypt', 391 f. B565)
8. (a) London BM 1914.3-17.6 band-cup (Beazley and Payne, 269 no. 52 pl. 16.9; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 391 B564 pl. 194)
- (b) London BM 1965.9-30.

9. London BM 1888.6-1.443 (B601.15) band-cup (Beazley and Payne, 269 no. 53 pl. 15.30; Venit, 'Egypt', 392 B566; painted unmeaning inscriptions)
 10. London BM B600.37 lip- or band-cup (Beazley and Payne, 270 no. 55 pl. 17.27; Venit, 'Egypt', 420 B656)
 11. Oxford ?lip-cup (ABSA 5, 1898/9 pl. 4.50b; Beazley *JHS* 52, 1932, 183; painted: 'Εργ[οτέ]λες or 'Εργ[ότιμος; ABV, 162)
 12. Toronto 910×234.40 (c43) lip-cup (CVA (1) pl. 39.9; Venit, 'Egypt', 387f. B553)
 13. London BM B600.38 Droop cup (Beazley and Payne, 270f. no. 59 pl. 17.25; Venit, 'Egypt', 427f. B680)
 14. Cambridge N111 Droop cup (CVA (2) pl. 21.26; Beazley and Payne, 271 no. 6ter; Venit, 'Egypt', 427 B678)
 15. Cambridge N116 Droop cup (CVA (2) pl. 21.31; Beazley and Payne, 271 no. 6quater; Venit, 'Egypt', 427 B678)
- Painter of the Palermo Gorgoneion*
1. London BM 1888.6-1.600 (B601.42) lip-cup or the like (Beazley and Payne, 270 no. 56 pl. 16.18; ABV, 188.2; *Addenda*², 51; Venit, 'Egypt', 421 B661)
- Centaur Painter*
1. London BM B600.32 lip-cup (*Naukratis* I, pl. 13.12; ABV, 189.7; Venit, 'Egypt', 387 B552)
- ?Nicostronic pyxis
1. London BM B601.9 Beazley and Payne, 263 no. 35 pl. 15.25; ABV, 676: βίς καλός; Venit, 'Egypt', 328 B371: late mid-6th c.
- Affecter and his Circle (c.540–520 BC)*
1. London BM 1886.4–1.1176 neck-amphora (Johnston, no. 37; Venit, 'Egypt', 245 B134)
 2. London BM 1886.4–1.1251 (B600.46) hydria (Beazley and Payne, 264 no. 42 pl. 16.15; ABV, 247.96; *Addenda*², 64; Venit, 'Egypt', 295f. B281)
 3. Oxford G137.42 neck-amphora (CVA (2) iii H pl. 3.21; ABV, 245.58; *Addenda*², 63; Venit, 'Egypt', 241 B122)
 4. (a) London BM 1886.4-1.1253 (B600.49) amphora (Beazley and Payne, 264 no. 43 pl. 15.27; ABV, 248.1 near the Affecter; *Addenda*², 64; Venit, 'Egypt', 208 B27)
 - (b) Bonn Inv.-no. 679.99

Elbows out (c.550–530 BC)

1. London BM B601.34 band-cup (Beazley and Payne, 270 no. 57 pl. 15.21; *ABV*, 250.25; Venit, 'Egypt', 400 B591)
2. London BM 1965.9–30.762–4 band-cup (*ABV*, 250.25; Venit, 'Egypt', 400 B592)

Painter of the Nicosia Olpe (c.540–30 BC)

1. Oxford 1953.625 stemless cup (*ABV*, 453.13 Painter of the Nicosia olpe; *Paralipomena* 196; Venit, 'Egypt', 435 B701)
2. London BM B600.44 Droop cup (Beazley and Payne, 271f. no. 60 pl. 16.13; *Paralipomena* 197.18 Painter of the Nicosia olpe; cf. *ABV*, 199.3 Painter of Louvre F28; Venit, 'Egypt', 425 B673)

Unattributed vases of the 3rd quarter of the 6th c.

1. London BM 1888.6–1.755 (B601.48) kantharos (Beazley and Payne, 263 no. 36 pl. 15.23; Johnston, no. 36; Venit, 'Egypt', 357 f. B460)
2. (a) London BM 1914.3–17.7
(b) London BM 1965.9–30.795–7 kantharos ((a) Beazley and Payne, 263 no. 37 pl. 17.4; Johnston, no. 38; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 357 B459)
3. London BM B601.19 ?kantharos (Beazley and Payne, 263 no. 38 pl. 15.20; Venit, 'Egypt', 358 B461)
4. London BM 1888.6–1.592 pyxis-lid (Beazley and Payne, 263 no. 39 pl. 17.5; Venit, 'Egypt', 328 B373)
5. Toronto 910x234.26 (c28) hydria (*CVA* (1) pl. 39.4; Venit, 'Egypt', 297 B284)
6. London BM B600.19 large Nicosthenic pyxis (Beazley and Payne, 265 no. 44 pl. 17.6: 530–520 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 286 B259)
7. London BM B407 lip-cup (*CVA* (2) iii He pl. 12.2; B. Fellmann, *Die antiken Darstellungen des Polyphemabenteuers* (1972) 84, 123 no. FL10; Venit, 'Egypt', 386 B548; Plate 1a)
8. London BM 1900.2–14.7 band-cup (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 60 pl. 5; *LSAG*, 343 no. 43; incised: ὁ] Χῖος Ἀφ[ροδίτη; Venit, 'Egypt', 414 B638 pl. 205; cf. V.4.g. Chios no. 2d)

Cups type A

1. London BM 1900.2-14.3 bilingual (Beazley and Payne, 272 no. 61 pl. 17.9; ARV², 43.69; Venit, 'Egypt', 434 B700)
2. London BM (Beazley and Payne, 272 no. 70 pl. 15.3; Venit, 'Egypt', 431 f. B690)
3. Oxford (*Paralipomena*, 81.26 FP class; Venit, 'Egypt', 432 B693)

Late bf vases

1. London BM B600.13 stemless cup (Beazley and Payne, 272 no. 71 pl. 17.1; Venit, 'Egypt', 435 B703)
2. Oxford 1953.635 cup of Leafless Group (ABV, 642.136: 500-480 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 449 B746 pl. 223)
3. Oxford 1953.626 cup type A of Leafless Group (ABV, 647.218; Venit, 'Egypt', 432 B694 pl. 211)
4. Boston 88.1073 skyphos (Fairbanks, no. 358.1 pl. 39; ABV, 570.684 Haimon group: 490-450 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 366 B488 from the temenos of the Dioskouroi)
5. Alexandria 17340 Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 194 pl. 45; Boardman, *Gnomon* 62, 1990, 473: late Ath. bf palmette skyphos

Redfigure vases

1. Oxford G138.23 amphora (CVA (1) iii I pl. 50.1; JHS 25, 1905, pl. 7.2; ARV², 35.3 related to pioneers c.520-510 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 483 c1; painted: Ἀλ]εχσις)
2. Oxford G700 eye-cup ?bilingual (CVA (2) iii I pl. 57.9; ARV², 47.144; c.520 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 504 c57)
3. Oxford G141.3 eye-cup bilingual (JHS 25, 1905, 116 f. no. 39 fig. 2; incised: Φωκ]αιεύς; Bernard i 3, 709 no. 682 pl. 26.1; ARV², 42.53, 56.29 Oltos 515-500 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 434 B699 pl. 213; cf. V.4.g. Phocaea no. 2)
4. Oxford G138.19 cup (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.15; ARV², 64.101 Oltos c.520 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 507 f. c66)
5. Oxford G138.2 cup (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.3; ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 92 pl. 8.10; ARV², 66.124 Oltos c.515 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 508 c67; incised: Ἀφροδίτ[η], painted: Μέ[μνων? καλό]ς)
6. (a) London BM E812.1 cup ((a) ABSA 5, 1898/9, 64 fig. 2; (b) CVA (2) iii I pl. 27.3; ARV², 68.10 near Oltos; (a+b) Venit, 'Egypt', 508 c68)
- (b) Cambridge 99.N.142 [Beazley]

7. Oxford G141.15 cup type C (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.21; ARV² 93.93 Euergides late 6th c.; JHS 25, 1905, 116 no. 5; D. Gill, JHS 106, 1986, 184f. no. 1 fig. 1; Venit, 'Egypt', 505 c58; incised: τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἡρόδο[τος; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 1a)
8. London BM 1900.2-14.10 kylix (ABSA 5, 1898/9 pl. 8.12; ARV², 110.10 Hermaios Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 510 c74)
9. Oxford G138.16 kylix (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.4 end of 6th c.; Venit, 'Egypt', 512 c80)
10. Oxford G138.8 kylix (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.5 around 500 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 512f. c82)
11. Oxford G138.17 kylix (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.11 late 6th/early 5th c.; Venit, 'Egypt', 514 c86)
12. Oxford G138.22 kylix (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.16 late 6th c.; Venit, 'Egypt', 511f. c79)
13. Oxford G138.4 kylix (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.17; JHS 25, 1905 pl. 7.3 around 500 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 512 c81)
14. Oxford G138.15 kylix (CVA (1) iii I pl. 49.12; ARV², 178.2 Salting Painter around 510–500 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 511 c77)
15. Cambridge 99.N.138 kylix (CVA (2) iii I pl. 27.1 520–510 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 509f. c72)
16. Cambridge 99.N.142a kylix (CVA (2) iii I pl. 27.2; ABSA 5, 1898/9, 63 pl. 8.13 500–490 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 514 c88)
17. Cambridge 99.N.143 kylix (CVA (2) iii I pl. 27.8 late 6th c.; Venit, 'Egypt', 511 c78)
18. Cambridge 99.N.137 kylix (CVA (2) iii I pl. 27.9 c.500 BC Pithos Group; Venit, 'Egypt', 513 c83)
19. Cambridge 99.N.141 kylix (CVA (2) iii I pl. 27.7; ARV², 124.4 Nikosthenes Painter; Venit, 'Egypt', 509 c71)
20. Oxford G138.3+5+11 Stesichoros kylix (cup type C) (CVA (1) iii I pl. 14.27–31; ABSA 5, 1898/9, 65 fig. 3; JHS 25, 1905 pls. 6.5, 7.4–5; ARV², 326.93 Onesimos c.485 BC; Venit, 'Egypt', 505f. c60; painted: (a) Στεσίχορ/ον ἡῦμον/ ἄγοισαι (b) ἡο παῖς κα[λός])
21. London BM 1888.6-1.601a volute-krater (Johnston, no. 39)
22. London BM 1900.2-14.6 volute-krater (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 107 pl. 5; Johnston, no. 40; incised: Ἀφροδίτη: Πανδήμ[ωι])
23. Oxford G138.36+40 volute-krater (CVA (1) iii I pl. 50.12–13; ARV², 221.15 Nikoxenos Painter end of 6th c.; Venit, 'Egypt', 484 c4)

24. Brussels Mus. Cinq. A 1810 column-krater (CVA (3) iii He pl. 28.2; Venit, 'Egypt', 487 c10; incised: —]Χῖος τῆφρο[δίτηι; cf. V.4.g. Chios no. 2e)
25. eye-cup (*Naukratis* I, 52; painted: Νικοσθ[ένης ἐποίησ]εν; cf. Bernand i 3, 674 no. 331)
26. kylix (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 93; Bernand i 3, 703 no. 616; incised: Ἀφρ]οδίται ho[—; cf. V.4.g. Cnidus no. 4)

Panathenaic amphorae

1. Cambridge 94–5.N.181 (CVA (2) iii H pl. 20.2)
2. Oxford G141.59 (CVA (2) iii H pl. 2.29 late 4th c.; cf. pl. 2.26, 27)
3. Alexandria 9352 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 181 pl. 42; identified by Boardman, *Gnomon* 62, 1990, 473 4th c.)
4. Alexandria 17269 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 246 pl. 55; identified by Boardman, *Gnomon* 62, 1990, 473 earlier)

Attic black-glazed bowls

1. London BM 1886.4–1.101 (*Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.80; Bernand i 3, 646 no. 41 pl. 31; incised: —]ς μ'ἀνέθ/ηκεν τῶπόλλω[νι])
2. London BM 1900.2–14.17 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 114 pl. 5; Johnston, no. 17; O. Masson, *Les inscriptions Chypriotes syllabiques* (1983), 353f. no. 370: Cypriot inscription of 3–4 syllables)
3. Oxford G141.44 (Bernand, pl. 27.3; incised: ΑΙΑΜ)
4. Oxford G141.39 (Bernand, pl. 27.2; incised: Ἀφρο[δίτηι])
5. Oxford G141.24 (*JHS* 25, 1905, 117 no. 34; Bernand i 3, 709 no. 677 pl. 27.1; incised: ΑΗΜΙΗΚ— / ΝΑΙΗ)
6. Oxford G141.55 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 86; Bernand i 3, 703 no. 609 pl. 27.1; incised: Ἀφρ]οδίτηι)
7. Oxford G141.54 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 88; Bernand i 3, 703 no. 611 pl. 27.1; incised: Ἀφρ]οδίτησι [sic])
8. Oxford G141.22 (*JHS* 25, 1905, 117 no. 33; Bernand i 3, 709 no. 676 pl. 27.1; incised: Πυθὼ ἡ/Ἀγηςίππ[ου] / Πάχιος / —ομυ— (according to script it could be a bowl of the late 5th c.))
9. Oxford G141.57 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 81; Bernand, 702 no. 604 pl. 27.1; incised: θεοῖς τ]οῖς Ἑλλή[νων])

10. Oxford G 141.6 (JHS 25, 1905, 116 no. 30; Bernand i 3, 709 no. 673; incised: *Εὐφάντῳ*)
11. Oxford G 141.29 (JHS 25, 1905, 17 no. 38; Bernand i 3, 709 no. 681 pl. 27.1; Cypriot inscription of 4 syllables)
12. Oxford G 141.56 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 80; Bernand i 3, 702 no. 603 pl. 27.1; incised: *Ἑλλ[ήνων]*)
13. Oxford G 141.13 bowl (JHS 25, 1905, 117 no. 16; Bernand i 3, 707 no. 659 pl. 27.1; incised: *Τ]ελέσων* *Ῥόδιο(ς) Ἀφρο[δίται]*; cf. V.4.g. Rhodes no. 1)
14. Oxford G 141.2 kantharos (JHS 25, 1905, 116 no. 6 from the Hellenion; Bernand i 3, 707 no. 649; Gill, JHS 106, 1986, 185ff. no. 2 fig. 2 early 4th c.; incised: *Ἡ[ρο]δότου*; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 1b)

c. *List of Laconian Vases*

The numbers in the list follow M. S. Venit's catalogue in *AJA* 89, 1985, 395–7.

Kylikes

1. London BM 7.4.15 Stibbe, no. 67 pl. 26.11–12; manner of Naukratis Painter 575–565 BC
2. Oxford 1888.1325 *Naukratis* II, 64 pl. 21.766; Stibbe, no. 16 pl. 8.1–2; Naukratis Painter 565–560 BC; graffito: *Ἀφροδίτῃ Νε(ι)λόμανδρος [ἀνέθηκεν]*; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 3
3. London BM B4 from temenos of Apollo (*Naukratis* I, pls. 8–9; Stibbe, no. 23 pl. 12.1; Naukratis Painter 565–560 BC)
4. Alexandria 9362+9390 Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, pl. 42 figs. 1–2; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 398 pl. 83; Naukratis Painter 565–560 BC
5. Alexandria 17351 Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, pl. 42 figs. 3–4; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 399 pl. 84; Naukratis Painter 565–550 BC
6. (a) Reading 26.ii.82 (a–c) *CVA* (12) pl. 23.19; (b) Fairbanks, no. 348 pl. 37; (d) Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, pl. 42 figs. 5–6; Naukratis Painter 2nd quarter 6th c.
- (b) Boston 88.1076
- (c) Cambridge N4
- (d) Oxford G 133.8
7. New York, private coll. given as from Egypt; late Naukratis or early Arkesilas Painter 2nd quarter 6th c. [Bothmer]
8. London BM 1888.6–1.529 *Naukratis* II, 44, 64 pl. 21.767; Stibbe, no. 132 pl. 43.7–8; Boreads Painter c.570 BC; Bernand i 3, 683 no. 418; graffito: *Ἀφροδ[ίτῃ] ὁ Φ[ιλά]μμ[ων]*; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 7
- (B7.5.1–2)

9. London BM B7.4.1, 2, 5, 17 Stibbe, no. 161a–d pl. 49.9–12; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
10. Oxford G133.4 Stibbe, no. 162 pl. 34c; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
11. London BM B7.1. Stibbe, no. 148 pl. 47.1; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
12. London BM B5 Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, pl. 43 fig. 14; Stibbe, no. 151 pl. 47.4; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
13. Alexandria 9528 Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, pl. 43 figs. 12–13; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 400 pl. 84; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
14. Brussels Mus. Cinq. A 1760 bought in Cairo (*CVA* (3) pl. 4.7a+b; Stibbe, no. 141 pl. 45.1–2; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC)
15. London BM B7.4.10–12 Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 131 no. 12 pl. 36g; Stibbe, no. 156; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
16. London BM B6 Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 130 no. 7 pl. 36c; Stibbe, no. 154; Johnston, no. 24; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
17. Munich SL513 *CVA* (6) pl. 292.4–5; Stibbe, no. 159; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
18. Alexandria 16889 Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985 pl. 43 figs. 8–9; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 401 pl. 84; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
19. Alexandria 17049 Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985 pl. 43 figs. 10–11; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 402 pl. 84; Boreads Painter 570–565 BC
20. London BM B7.3 Stibbe, no. 179 pl. 56.1–2; Boreads Painter early 2nd quarter 6th c.
21. London BM B7.4.8 Stibbe, no. 180 pl. 56.3–4; Boreads Painter early 2nd quarter 6th c.
22. London BM B7.4.4 Stibbe, no. 183 pl. 56.5–6; Boreads Painter early 2nd quarter 6th c.
23. London BM B7.4.6 Stibbe, no. 182 pl. 56.7–8; Boreads Painter early 2nd quarter 6th c.
24. London BM B7.4.7 Stibbe, no. 181 pl. 56.9–10; Boreads Painter early 2nd quarter 6th c.
25. London BM B7.4.3 Stibbe, no. 171 pl. 50.15–16; Boreads Painter early 2nd quarter 6th c.
26. Cambridge N252 *CVA* (11) pl. 18.45; 2nd quarter 6th c.
28. London BM B7.2 *Naukratis* II, 64 pl. 21.765; Bernand i 3, 683 no. 416; graffito: *Ἀφροδίτην*; 2nd quarter 6th c.
29. Oxford G133.5 2nd quarter 6th c.

30. London BM B7.4.13+14+16 Stibbe, no. 253 pl. 87.1; ?Hunt Painter early period
 31. London BM B7.6 Lane, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 172 n.7 pl. 38g; ?3rd quarter 6th c.

Shape uncertain, possibly kraters

32. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. Venit, *AJA* 89, 1985, pl. 42 fig. 7; ?Naukratis Painter 2nd quarter 6th c.
 NA 199
 33. Oxford 1909.955 2nd quarter 6th c.

Shape uncertain, closed

34. Oxford G121.3

Black patterned kraters

1. Alexandria 9316 Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 403 pl. 85
 2. Alexandria 17283 Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 404 pl. 85

d. List of Wild Goat Style Vases

?MWG I

1. London BM 1891.8-6.73 (Price, pl. 8.6; Venit, *Naukratis*, 5 with n. 13)
 2. Boston 86.621 (Fairbanks, no. 323.7 pl. 35; Venit, *Naukratis*, 5 with n. 13)
 3. London BM (Price, pl. 8.3; Venit, *Naukratis*, 5 with n. 13)

MWG II

1. London BM 1886.4-1.830 krater with Polemarchos inscription (*Naukratis* I, pl. 4.3; graffito: Πολέμαρχος [με ἀνέθηκε τ]ὸ π[ό]λ(λ)ωνι : καὶ τὴν π[ρ]όχον : καὶ τὸ ὑπο[κρητ]ήριον; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 77 no. 645; Bernand i 3, 641 no. 1 pl. 30, 673 no. 325; *SGDI*, 5758; *Syll.*³ 750; Plate 1b; around 600 BC)
 2. Heidelberg i 5 oinochoe (*CVA* (1) pl. 1.4)
 3. Heidelberg i 4 lebes (*CVA* (1) pl. 1.6)
 4. Heidelberg i 2 lebes (*CVA* (1) pl. 1.7)
 5. Heidelberg i 3 lebes (*CVA* (1) pl. 2.3)
 6. London BM 1888.6-1.394 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 21.799; graffito: —]ωχιλος μ' ἀνέθηκε; Bernand i 3, 686 no. 447 pl. 30.3)

MWG III

(cf. R. M. Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 260, where he suggests his untypical Fikellura group R (cf. id., *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 37–9 = Cook) to be earlier and could be classed as MWG III.)

1. Boston 86.635 (Fairbanks, no. 330.7 pl. 36; Cook, R.2; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 2 no. 16)
2. Boston 88.1037 (Fairbanks, no. 326 pl. 36; Cook, R.3)
3. (a) Boston 86.636 (a) Fairbanks, no. 330.9 pl. 36; (b) *Naukratis* II, pl. 20.876; graffito: Ἐρμαγόρης μ' ἀνέθηκε ὁ Τ[ήμος] / τῶν πολλῶν; Edgar, *Vases*, 10f.; Cook, R.10; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 151 pl. 36; cf. V.4.g. Teos no. 2
- (b) Cairo 26152
- (c) Oxford 1925.608b various vases (*CVA* BM (8) 3 no. R.15)
4. London BM 1886.4-1.89 frgt. (*CVA* (8) ii D pl. 9.3; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 20 no. 182; Cook, R.11, graffito: ἀνέθηκε)
5. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 118, 119, 120

LWG

(cf. Bernand i 3, pls. 45.1, 46.1 for unpublished LWG fragments in London BM)

?Rhodian

1. Oxford 1925.608.d.1 plate (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 4.18; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 14 no. 254)
2. London BM 1965.9-30.105 plate (*Naukratis* II, pl. 12; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 99 no. 723; Chian)
3. London BM 1886.4-1.1090 (Price, 196ff. pl. 7.11; Johnston, no. 50)
4. London BM 1886.4-1.1272 (A 717) (Price, 196ff. pl. 7.9; Johnston, no. 53)
5. London BM 1888.6-1.521 plate (*Samos* vi 1, pl. 97 no. 730; Chian; cf. Lemos, 273f.: North Ionian; Bernand i 3, pl. 32.1, 2)
6. London BM 1888.6-1.395a–c (A 995) plate (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.777; Bernand i 3, 684 no. 428 pl. 28; incised: Χά]ρμης με ἀνέθηκε τῇ φροδίτῃ εὐχολήν; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 5b)

Aeolian

(cf. E. Walter-Karydi, *Antike Kunst Beih.* 7 (1970), 3–17)

1. London BM 1886.4-1.1270 dinos (Price, 193 fig. 20)
2. London BM 1886.4-1.1288 dinos (Walter-Karydi, pl. 8.2)
3. Boston 86.527 dinos (Fairbanks, no. 321.1 pl. 34)
4. The Hague Mus. Scheurleer T 2481 dinos (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 2.8)

5. Oxford c119.10 dinos (CVA (2) ii D pl. 4.3)
6. Brussels Mus.Cinq. A 1761 dinos (CVA (1) ii D pl. 3.14)
7. Philadelphia dinos (*Proc. Numism. Antiq. Soc. of Philadelphia* 1890/91, 30 fig. 36)
8. Heidelberg Univ. Inv.-no. 39 dinos (CVA (1) ii D pl. 2.26)
9. Boston 88.845 'Eimer' (Fairbanks, no. 321.4 pl. 34)
10. London BM 1888.6-1.462 askos (*Naukratis* II, pl. 5.1; cf. Schiering (1957), 14, 27: *Dinosmaler der Vlastosgruppe*)

?Teos, Klazomenai

1. London BM 1888.6-1.394
(A 984) column-krater (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.781; Bernand i 3, 685 no. 432 pl. 44.2; *SGDI* 5764; Johnston, no. 14 with wrong inv.-no.; incised: -]θότιμος με ἀνέθηκ[ε; Plate 2b)
2. London BM 1886.4-1.1261 frgt. of a big bowl (*Naukratis* I, pls. 6.5, 35.700; *LSAG*, 344 no. 59; incised: ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθη]κεν : τὰ φρο[δίτηι / —]ο : ὁ Τήμος; cf. V.4.g. Teos no. 1; Plate 2a)
3. (a) London BM 1886.4-1.
1091 frgts. of a bowl (*Naukratis* I, pl. 13.2; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 124 no. 1020)
- (b) London BM 1924.4-1.417
4. bowl (*Naukratis* II, 41 f. pl. 7.5)
5. London BM 1888.6-1.531 bowl (*Naukratis* II, 64 f. pl. 21.768; Bernand i 3, 683 no. 419; dipinto: —]ου[— Ἀφροδί]τηι : τῇ ἐ(ν) Ναυκράτι; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 4
6. London BM 1888.6-1.532 bowl (*Naukratis* II, pl. 8; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 124 no. 1009)
7. London BM 1888.6-1.533 plate/bowl (*Naukratis* II, pl. 9.1-4; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 120 no. 985)
8. Boston 88.822 (Fairbanks, no. 319.9 pl. 34; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 109 no. 961)
9. London BM (Price, 197 fig. 26 pl. 7.13; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 112 no. 978)
10. (a) Cambridge Mus. Class.
Arch. NA 19 (*Samos* vi 1, pl. 115 no. 942a-c; (b) CVA (2) ii D pl. 4.36; (c) Fairbanks, no. 320.1)
- (b) Oxford c 120.1
- (c) Boston 88.946
11. Oxford c119.42 (CVA (2) II D pl. 4.29; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 115 no. 943; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, pl. 6.7)
12. Boston 88.1030 (*Naukratis* II, pl. 11.3; Fairbanks, no. 317; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 119 no. 975)
13. London BM 1888.6-1.535 (*Samos* vi 1, pl. 124 no. 1008)
14. London BM (Price, pl. 8.13; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 125 no. 1012)

15. London BM 1886.4-1.986-8 (*Naukratis* I, 18, 61 pls. 7.9, 33.220; graffiti (outside): *Χαριδίων με ἀνέθηκε*, (inside): [*Χαριδίων με*] ἀ[ν]έθηκεν : τῶι Ἀπόλλο[νι; Bernand i 3, 661 no. 181, 674 no. 328; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 125 no. 1015)
16. Boston 88.1031 (Fairbanks, no. 313; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 125 no. 1016)
17. Boston 88.1032 (Fairbanks, no. 314; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 125 no. 1017)
18. Boston 88.1033 (Fairbanks, no. 315; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 125 no. 1018)
19. Cambridge N.26 oinochoe (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 18.32; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9 pl. 6.8)
20. London BM (*Naukratis* II, pl. 11.2; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 97 no. 732: Chian; cf. Lemos 273 f.: North Ionian)
21. (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 51 pl. 4; graffito: —]ωνος τῷ Χίῳ τῷ Ἀπ(ό)λλο[νι; Bernand i 3, 700 no. 574; *LSAG*, 343 no. 43; cf. V.4.g. Chios no. 2c)
22. (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, pl. 7.1a-d)
23. (E. Gardner, *JHS* 8, 1887, pl. 79 l.)

e. *List of Fikellura Vases*

(cf. R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 34, 1933/4, 1-98 (=Cook); G. P. Schaus, *ABSA* 81, 1986, 251-95 (=Schaus))

Cook's group B 'Lion Group' (550-540 BC)

1. London BM 1886.4-1. 779a-h, 1924.12-1.1098+1099 (*CVA* (8) ii D1 fig. 2 pl. 13.1; *Naukratis* I, pl. 32.177; Bernand i 3, 656 no. 138; Cook B.3; incised: Πρώτ[α]ρχός με ἀνέθηκε τῷ πόλλω[νι; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 10a)
2. Dublin UC 70 (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, pl. 6.11; Cook, B.5; Vickers, *JHS* 91, 1971, pl. 13 i; Johnston, no. 61)
3. London BM 1886.4-1.1130 (A 1326) (*CVA* (8) ii D1 pl. 8.8; Cook, B.8)
4. Athens British School (Cook, B.9)
5. Cambridge 94-6.N.13 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 48.6; Cook, B.10)
6. Cairo 26162 (Edgar, *Vases*, 13f. pl. 3; Cook, B.11; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 148 pl. 35)
7. Alexandria 9511 (Cook, B.12; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 149 pl. 35)
8. Leipzig (Cook, B.13)

9. (a) Leipzig T 3480 (previously Oxford G 132.5) ((a) Cook, B.15; (b) Edgar, *Vases*, 14; Cook, B.ii; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 150 pl. 36)
- (b) Cairo 26163
10. Alexandria 9308 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 155 pl. 37)

Cook's group C 'Group of B.M. B 117' (not much after 570 BC)

1. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. (Cook, c.3 pl. 17f, fig. 13.6; cf. CVA BM (8) NA 124a (previously London 1 no. c.3; Samos vi 1, pl. 16 no. 144) BM 1924.12-1.1051: A 1324)
2. Leipzig T 3482 (previously Oxford G 132.7) (Venit, *Naukratis*, 17; Bernand i 3, 673 no. 322; Cook, c.4; incised: *Πρώταρχος*; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 10b)
3. Cairo 26150 (Edgar, *Vases*, 10 with fig.; Cook, c.4a; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 152 pl. 36)
4. Cambridge 94-6.N.15 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 18.4; Cook, c.6)
5. Reading Univ. 26.ii.55 (CVA (1) ii D pl. 22.29; CVA BM (8) 1 no. c.8)
6. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. (CVA BM (8) 1 no. c.10) NA 125

Cook's group E 'Amphorae with Scale Pattern'

1. Oxford G 132.1 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.4; ABSA 5, 1898/9, pl. 7.2; Samos vi 1, pl. 85 no. 621; Cook, E.1: c.540 BC; cf. CVA BM (8) 1 no. E.1)

Cook's group F 'Other Amphorae with Animals or Birds on Shoulder'

1. London BM 1886.4-1.1105 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 8.9; Samos vi 1, pl. 85 no. (A 1323) 622; Cook, F.2 pl. 14a: 550-540 BC)
2. London BM 1886.4-1.1274 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 8.7; Cook, F.3: shortly after (A 1325) 550 BC)

Cook's group G 'Mykonos Group' (550 BC and not much later)

1. Cambridge 94-6.N.16.G.64 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 48.8; Cook, G.4)

'Altenburg Painter' (550-c.525 BC)

1. London UC 735 (Cook, B.7 pl. 10c; Samos vi 1, pl. 84 no. 614; Johnston, no. 62; Schaus, no. 8)
2. Oxford G 121.10 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.7; Cook, H.5; Schaus, no. 16)
3. Oxford G 121.5 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.8; JHS 25, 1905, pl. 6.1; Price, 185 fig. 5; Samos vi 1, pl. 14 no. 113; Cook, K.7: middle of 3rd quarter 6th c.; Schaus, no. 18)

4. Cambridge 94-6.N.10+11 (GR 52.1899) + 11a (CVA (2) ii D pl. 48.7, 9, 10; ABSA 5, 1898/9, pl. 6.12a-c; Cook, H.1 pl. 8a; Schaus, no. 19 pl. 14d)
5. Alexandria 9526 (Cook, H.4 pl. 8b; Schaus, no. 20; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 146 pl. 35)

Presumably Altenburg Painter

6. Oxford 1925.608b (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.6; Cook, H.2; Schaus, no. 38)
7. London BM 1886.4-1.1150 (A 1327) (CVA (8) ii D pl. 9.15 (wrong inv.-no.; Cook, J.2; Schaus, no. 39)
8. Dublin UC v4019 (Vickers, *JHS* 91, 1971, 116 no. 11 pl. 13k; Schaus, no. 40)
9. Oxford 1925.608b (Cook, J.5; Schaus, no. 42 pl. 15f)
10. Boston 86.575 (Fairbanks, no. 321.14 pl. 34; Cook, H.3; Schaus no. 43)
11. Cambridge 94-6.N.14 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 48.11; Cook, J.3; Schaus, no. 45)
12. Alexandria 16888 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 147 pl. 35)

To Cook's old group J 'Altenburg Group'

13. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA 129 (CVA BM (8) 1 no. J.10e)
14. Manchester 6252c (ii.D.9) (T. B. L. Webster, 'Greek Vases in the Manchester Museum', *Manchester Memoirs* 77, 1932-33, 2 pl. 1.3; Cook, J.13)

Schaus's Painter of the Running Satyrs

1. Boston 86.500 (Fairbanks, no. 321.15 pl. 34; Cook, K.5 pl. 8c; early 2nd half of 6th c.; Schaus, no. 58)
2. Alexandria 9323 (Cook, K.8 pl. 10e; end of 3rd quarter 6th c.; Schaus, no. 62; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 145 pl. 35)

Presumably Painter of the Running Satyrs

3. Oxford G120.33 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 4.53; Cook, K.10; early 3rd quarter of 6th c.; Schaus, no. 70)

Perhaps Painter of the Running Satyrs

4. Paris Louvre AM 1362 (CVA BM (8) 1 no. J.5a; Schaus, no. 73)

Cook's group M 'Würzburg Group' (c.535-525 BC)

1. Cambridge 94-6.N.12.G.65 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 18.5; cf. Cook, 25f. to M.i)
2. Leipzig T 3479 (previously Oxford 1912.34) (CVA BM (8) 2 to M.ii; CVA Oxford (2) ii D pl. 6.12)

Cook's group Q 'Amphorae and Oinochoai with Diagonal Decoration'
(2nd half 6th c. BC)

1. Oxford 1925.609b (Cook, Q.4)
2. London BM 1924.12-1.1079 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 8.14; Cook, Q.5)
(A1332)
3. Oxford 1925.608b (Cook, Q.11)

Cook's group R 'Plain Body Group'

(cf. R. M. Cook, *OJA* 11, 1992, 260, where he suggests that this group might belong to MWG III. Cf. List of WG Style Vases.)

Cook's group S 'Louvre Group' (end of 6th c. BC)

1. The Hague T2489 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 68.6; Prins de Jong, pl. 2.5; Cook, s.3)
2. London BM 1949.5-16.8-10 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 8.2a-c; Cook, s.4; cf. CVA
(previously private) (8) 5, s.v. 'Naukratis')
3. (a) London BM 1886.4-1.1125 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 8.1; Cook, s.5 with n. 2; cf.
(b) London BM 1924.12-1.35 CVA (8) 3 no. s.5)
+36+1157 (A 1328)
4. Boston 88.828 (Fairbanks, no. 331 pl. 36; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 6 no.
48; Cook, s.9 pl. 17g)
5. Oxford G 132.8 (Cook, s.10 pl. 17c)

Cook's group T 'Oinochoai with Zone Decoration, and Animals or Birds on
Shoulder' (mid-6th c. BC)

1. London BM (Cook, T.3; cf. CVA (8) 5, s.v. 'Naukratis')
2. (a) London BM 1888.6- frgts. (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 11.1-2; *Samos* vi 1,
1.561a, 1924.12-1.212 pl. 4.8 no. 37; Johnston, no. 60; Cook, T.4
+213+1057+1058+1102 pl. 14c; cf. CVA BM (8) 3 no. T.4: (b) found
(b) Leipzig T3478 (previously in Aphrodite temenos 1888, neck does not
Oxford G.120.35) belong to it, now U.10)
3. (a) London BM 1949.5-16.5, (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 8.4; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 3 no. 43
(b) London BM 1924.12- (catalogue incomplete and wrong); Cook, T.5
1.1053, (b) pl. 17a)
(c) London BM 1949.5-16.18
4. Oxford 1925.608b (Cook, T.6 pl. 16b)

Cook's group U 'Miscellaneous Oinochoai'

1. London BM 1888.6- (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 8.4; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 39 no.
1.556b+c 314 pl. 3 no. 43; Cook, U.1 pl. 17b)
2. London BM 1886.4-1.1040 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 6.5; *Samos* vi 1 pl. 2 no. 26;
Cook, U.3 pl. 16c: mid-6th c.)

3. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. (CVA BM (8) 3 no. u.3a)
NA 122
4. London BM 1886.4-1.1052 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 9.1; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 2 no. 23;
Cook, u.6: mid-6th c.)
5. Oxford G 121.7 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.10; Cook, u.7: just after
mid-6th c.)
6. London BM 1886.4-1.1051, (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 9.2; *Naukratis* I, pl. 7.14;
1924.12-1.921+922 *Samos* vi 1, pl. 2 no. 24; Cook, u.10)

Cook's group W 'Cups with Ring Foot' (end of 1st half of 6th c. BC)

1. London BM 1924.12-1.215 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 14.1; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 38 no.
298; Price, 183 fig. 4; Cook, w.1 pl. 1d-e)
2. London BM 1924.12-1.214 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 14.2; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 38 no.
299; Price, 183 fig. 4; Cook, w.5)
3. London BM 1888.6-1.556a (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 14.3; Price, 183 fig. 4;
Cook, w.6 pl. 1a-c)
4. Oxford G 117.16 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.9; Cook, w.9: 3rd quarter
of 6th c.)
5. London BM 1886.4-1.344 (CVA (8) ii D1 pl. 14.4; Cook, w.12)

Cook's group Y 'Amphoriskoi'

1. Oxford 1925.608d (Cook, y.2)

Cook's group Z 'Miscellaneous Fragments'

1. Oxford 1925.608b.f.2 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.13; Cook, z.2: mid-6th c.)
2. Oxford c132.6 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 6.11; Cook, z.4)
3. Leipzig T3477 (Cook, z.5: 3rd quarter 6th c.)
4. Boston 86.548 (Fairbanks, no. 330.5 pl. 36; Cook, z.12: not
late)
5. Alexandria 9306 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 153 pl. 37: near Alten-
burg Group)
6. Alexandria 17171 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 154 pl. 37: near Alten-
burg Group)
7. Alexandria 17229 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 156 pl. 38)
8. Alexandria 9517 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 157 pl. 38)

f. List of Chian Vases

Since Anna Lemos has collected all the material and made a comprehensive catalogue, I will keep this list to references to Lemos only, however, indicating the number of pieces found at Naukratis, compared to the total sum of pieces in her catalogue.

I. Patterned chalices of the 7th c.

Lemos, nos. 64-9

6 out of 110

II. Wild Goat style

1. Chalices		
Lemos, nos. 125–235		111 out of 138
2a. Bowls		
Lemos, nos. 248–51		4 out of 4
2b. Open bowls with out-turned sides (Aphrodite bowl type)		
Lemos, nos. 252–8		7 out of 7
London BM 1888.6–1.456	Aphrodite bowl (<i>Naukratis</i> II, pls. 6.1–2. 21.701; Price, 216f.; ‘Emporio’ 149 n. 3; <i>ABSA</i> 44, 1949, 158 with n. 11; <i>Samos</i> vi 1, 138 fig. 139 pl. 90 no. 715a–b; Lemos, no. 252*; Bernand i 3, 676 no. 355; graffito: <i>Σώστρατος μ’ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν τῇφροδίτῃ[ι]</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 2; Plate 4)	
2c. Tripod bowl		0 out of 1
3. Dishes		
Lemos, no. 263		1 out of 6
4. Plates		
Lemos, nos. 267–8		2 out of 3
5. Lekanai		0 out of 4
6. Votive shield		0 out of 1
7. Dinoi		
Lemos, nos. 280–302		23 out of 36
8. Oinochoai		
Lemos, nos. 340–5		6 out of 45
9. Ring vases		
Lemos, nos. 355–64		10 out of 10
10. Phallus cups		
Lemos, nos. 365–6		2 out of 3
11. Fragments		
Lemos, nos. 372–416		45 out of 51

Reserving styles of the 6th c.

III. Animal chalice style

1. Chalices		
Lemos, nos. 432–610		179 out of 258
2. Kantharoi		0 out of 4
3. Phialai mesomphaloi		
Lemos, nos. 681–3		3 out of 3
4. Plates and dishes		
Lemos, nos. 685–6		2 out of 4
5. Lids		
Lemos, no. 688		1 out of 7

6. Closed vases	
Lemos, no. 695	1 out of 2
IV. Grand style	
1. Chalices	
Lemos, nos. 697–792	96 out of 105
2. ?Phiale mesomphalos	
Lemos, no. 802	1 out of 1
3. Plates	
Lemos, no. 803	1 out of 2
4. Dinoi	
Lemos, nos. 805–6	2 out of 2
5. Closed vase	
Lemos, no. 807	1 out of 1
IVa. Light on dark background	
Lemos, nos. 810–13	4 out of 7
V. Chalice style	
A. <i>Vases with no filling ornament</i>	
1. Chalices	
Lemos, nos. 829–923a	96 out of 161
2. Kantharoi	
Lemos, nos. 975–7	3 out of 4
3. Phialai mesomphaloi	
Lemos, nos. 979–95	17 out of 17
B. <i>Patterned vases</i>	
1. Chalices	0 out of 77
2. Phialai mesomphaloi	
Lemos, nos. 1073–4	2 out of 9
3. Plates	0 out of 2
C. <i>Fragments of A or B or decoration lost</i>	
1. Chalices	
Lemos, nos. 1084–1130b	49 out of 135
2. Phialai mesomphaloi	
Lemos, nos. 1213–34	22 out of 83
3. Other shapes	
Lemos, nos. 1253–5	3 out of 3
D. <i>Vases with floral decoration</i>	
1. Chalices	
Lemos, nos. 1256–61	6 out of 10
2. Phialai mesomphaloi	
Lemos, nos. 1266–9	4 out of 4

BF styles of the 6th c.

VI. Sphinx and lion style

1. Bowls with lids	0 out of 2
2. Stemmed skyphos krater	0 out of 1
3. Fragments of 1. or 2. Lemos, nos. 1287–1308, 1331–60a	53 out of 106
4. Plastic heads Lemos, nos. 1379–92	14 out of 22
5. Tripod bowls Lemos, no. 1400	1 out of 2
6. Dinoi Lemos, nos. 1402–3	2 out of 3
7. Kothon	0 out of 1
8. Plates Lemos, nos. 1406–15	10 out of 12
9. Dishes Lemos, no. 1418	1 out of 2
10. Lekanoi Lemos, no. 1420	1 out of 2
11. Oinochoai Lemos, nos. 1426–30	5 out of 14
12. Incense vases	0 out of 3
13. Basket-handled cylindrical vase	0 out of 1
14. ?Basket	0 out of 1
15. Ring vase Lemos, no. 1440	1 out of 1
16. Fragments Lemos, nos. 1443–53	11 out of 17

VII. BF grand style

1. Cups Lemos, nos. 1458–60	3 out of 3
2. Chalices Lemos, nos. 1461–5	5 out of 5
3. Bowl Lemos, no. 1466	1 out of 1
4. Fragment (from Berezan)	0 out of 1

VIII. BF chalices

1. Komast chalices Lemos, nos. 1489–1560	72 out of 124
2. Animal chalices Lemos, nos. 1592–9	8 out of 23

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 3. Chalices with floral decoration | |
| Lemos, nos. 1615–16 | 2 out of 2 |
| 4. Unslipped chalices | 0 out of 2 |
| 5. Chalices with undiscernible or unpreserved decoration | |
| Lemos, nos. 1620–1 | 2 out of 5 |

IX. BF kantharoi

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Unslipped kantharoi | |
| Lemos, nos. 1629–32 | 4 out of 10 |
| 2. Slipped kantharoi | 0 out of 3 |

X. Miscellanea

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| 1. Hydria | 0 out of 1 |
| 2. Two-handled pots | 0 out of 9 |
| 3. Ivy-patterned vases | |
| Lemos, no. 1652 | 1 out of 5 |
| 4. Varia | |
| Lemos, nos. 1656–7 | 2 out of 6 |

XI. Vases with inscriptions

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. (a) London BM 1888.6-1.174 | chalice (<i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 21.708; Bernand i 3, |
| (b) London BM 1924.12-1.854 | 677 no. 359 pl. 29; graffito: (a) —]μαῖος ἀνέθηκεν : τῇ [Ἀφ]ροδίτ; (b) ηι) |
| 2. London BM 1888.6-1.175a–c | large chalice (<i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 21.707; Bernand i 3, 677 no. 358; graffito: —]ιθεστος ἀνέθηκε[ε τ]ῇ Ἀφροδ[ίτ]η(ι)) |
| 3. London BM 1888.6-1.188 and 188b | chalice (<i>Naukratis</i> II, 63 pl. 21.717; Bernand i 3, 678 pl. 368; graffito: Καῖρος μ'ἀνέθηκην; cf. V.4.g. Phocaea no. 3) |
| 4. London BM 1888.6-1.360 | foot of chalice (<i>Naukratis</i> II, 64 pl. 21.758; Bernand i 3, 682 no. 409; graffito: Τ]εισα-μ[ενοῦ / υἱὸς —]όκλης [ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀφρο-δί]τῃ ὁ Τ[ήμιος; cf. V.4.g. Teos no. 5) |
| 5. London BM 1888.6-1.361 | foot of chalice (<i>Naukratis</i> II, 64 pl. 21.757; Bernand i 3, 682 no. 408; graffito: —]ω[—] / ὁ Χῖο[ς; cf. V.4.g. Chios no. 2b) |
| 6. London BM 1911.6-1.6.12 | unslipped bf kantharos (Lemos, no. 1629*; graffito: Σύμφоро[—]) |
| 7. London BM 1886.4-1.1262 | slipped chalice (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 16 pl. 5.37; ABSA 47, 1952, 166 no. 44; dipinto: Ἀ]φροδί[τῃ]) |
| 8. London UC 742 | slipped bf kantharos (<i>BICS</i> 29, 1982, 40f. pl. 5d; dipinto: Ἀφροδί[τῃ] ἀ[νέ]θησαν) |
| 9. London UC 743 | slipped bf kantharos (dipinto: ἀνέ]θηκε·) |

g. *List of Clazomenian Vases*(cf. R. M. Cook, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 123–52 (=Cook))

Cook's group A 'Tübingen Group' (550–540 BC)

1. Oxford G131.9 (Cook, c.2)
2. London BM 1888.6-1.574 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 9.15; Cook, A.5)
3. Cambridge 94-6.N.43 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 19.9; Cook, A.7)
4. Cambridge 94-6.N.44 (ABSA 5, 1898/9 pl. 8.2b; CVA (2) ii D pl. 19.11; Cook, A.14)
5. Cambridge 94-6.N.42 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 19.8; Cook, A.15)
6. Oxford G129.1 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.12; Cook, A.17)
7. Heidelberg Univ. 11 (CVA (1) pl. 3.5; Cook, A.18)
8. Louvre AM.1361 (Cook, A.23)

Cook's group B 'Petrie Group' (before 540 to near 530 BC)

(Pieces of this class were only found in Egypt (Tell Defenneh, Naukratis); cf. J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 60, 1965, 128.)

1. Boston 86.576 (Cook, B.12)
2. Cambridge 94-5.N.193 (CVA (2) iii H pl. 20.30; Cook, B.16)
3. Cambridge 99.N.43a (CVA (2) ii D pl. 19.16; Cook, B.20)
4. London UC (Cook, B.22)
5. Oxford G130.19 (Cook, B.28)
6. Oxford G129.6 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.16; Cook, B.29)
7. Alexandria 17066 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 158 pl. 38)

Cook's group C 'Urfa Group' (c.540–525/520 BC)

1. London UC 733 (Cook, c.i.3; Johnston, no. 57)
2. Oxford G131.6 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.20; Cook, c.i.8)
3. London UC 732 (Cook, c.i.9.; Johnston, no. 58)
4. London BM 1886.4-1.1113 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 6.18; Cook, c.i.12)
5. Oxford G130.4 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.5; Cook, c.i.13)
6. Oxford G129.5 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.2; Cook, c.i.15)
7. Oxford G129.7 (Cook, c.ii.8)
8. Cambridge 94-5.N.42a (CVA (2) ii D pl. 19.10; Cook, c.ii.12)
9. Oxford G131.18 (Cook, c.ii.13)
10. Oxford G130.3 (JHS 25, 1905, pl. 5 bottom l.; CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.11, wrong lit.; Cook, c.ii.15)
11. Boston 86.572 (Fairbanks, no. 339.3 pl. 37; Cook, c.ii.16)
12. London BM 1952.5-5.12 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 9.14; Cook, c.ii.23)
13. London BM 1886.4-1.1192 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 7.7; Cook, c.ii.28)
14. Oxford G131.11 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.19; Cook, c.ii.29)
15. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch. NA135 (Cook, c.ii.32)
16. Oxford 1925.608d(2) (Cook, c.ii.34)

17. Oxford 1912.34 (Cook, c.ii.35)
18. Oxford G121.4 (Cook, c.iv.4)
19. New York Met. Mus.
37.11.4 (said to be from
Egypt) lower part of big lid (Cook, c.iii.2; *BullMet-*
Mus 32, 1937, 175 f. fig. 1; for the sirens cf. BM
1888.2-8.80a (CVA (8) ii Dn pl. 6.15) from
Tell Defenneh; Plate 3c)

Cook's class D 'Enmann Class'

1. Boston 88.838 (Fairbanks, no. 339.2 pl. 37; Cook, D.d
middle of 2nd half 6th c.)

Cook's class E 'Knipovitch Class'

1. Oxford G130.9 (Cook, E.i.2)
2. Oxford G130.11 (Cook, E.i.3)
3. Oxford G130.5 (Cook, E.i.4)
4. Cambridge 99.N.44a (CVA (2) ii D pl. 19.12; Cook, E.ii.1)
5. Oxford G130.2 (ABSA 5, 1898/9 pl. 8.5; Cook, E.ii.3)
6. Oxford G130.6 (Cook, E.ii.4)
7. Oxford G130.7 (Cook, E.iii.4 Temrjuk painter)
8. Oxford G130.8 (Cook, E.iii.5 Temrjuk painter)
9. Oxford 1912.33 (Cook, E.iii.6 Temrjuk painter)
10. Oxford G129.8 (Cook, E.iii.a)
11. Cambridge Mus. Class. Arch.
NA 136 (Cook, E.iv.5)

Cook's group F 'Miscellanea'

1. (a) Cambridge 94-6.N.35-7
+39 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, pl. 6.9a-c. 10; (a) CVA (2)
ii D pl. 19.1-6; Cook, F.1a before mid-6th c.;
(b) Cairo Je 46338 (b) Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 165 pl. 39; Cook,
F.1b)
2. Oxford G130.10 (Cook, F.1c before mid-6th c.)
3. London BM 1888.6-1.580b (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 7.6; Cook, F.2)
4. London BM 1886.4-1.1280 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 6.19; Cook, F.3 mid-6th c.)
5. London BM 1888.6-1.580a (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 7.4; Cook, F.5 540/530 BC;
not necessarily Clazomenian)
6. Oxford 1912.33 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.3; Cook, F.6 540/530 BC)
7. London BM 1900.2-14.2 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, pl. 8.1; CVA (8) ii D n pl.
7.5; Cook, F.7 540/530 BC; Johnston, no. 56)
8. Oxford G131.1 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.17; Cook, F.8 mid-6th c.)
9. Cambridge 94-6.N.41 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, pl. 8.2a; CVA (2) ii D pl.
19.7; Cook, F.9 c.540 BC)
10. London BM 1886.4-1.1256 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 7.3; Cook, F.10)
11. Oxford 1912.33(f) (Cook, F.11)
12. Oxford G129.3 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.15; Cook, F.13)

13. London BM 1886.4-1.1257 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 7.8; Cook, *F.20* 3rd quarter 6th c.)

Unclassified

1. Oxford G 128.33 (ABSA 5, 1898/9, pl. 8.3; CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.7)
 2. Oxford G 128.37 (JHS 25, 1905, pl. 6.3; CVA (2) ii D pl. 10.21)

h. *List of Bird Bowls, Rosette Bowls, and Eye-Bowls*

Bird bowls

1. Oxford 1912.34 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 1.13; Coldstream, *GGP*, 300 no. 31 before 615 BC)
 2. Oxford G 116.2.4 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 1.8, 9; Coldstream, *GGP*, 301 no. 35 after 615 BC)
 3. London BM 1888.6-1.652b (Price, 185 fig. 7; Johnston, no. 44)
 4. London BM 1886.4-1.1273 (Price, 185 fig. 8; Johnston, no. 43)
 5. London BM 1924.12-1.882 (Johnston, no. 45)
 6. London BM 1907.12-1.808 (Bernand, pl. 46.2 first in first row)
 7. London BM 1888.6-1.652a? (Bernand, pl. 46.2 second in first row)
 8. London BM 1907.12-1.809 (Bernand, pl. 46.2 fifth in first row)
 9. London BM 1924.12-1.878 (Bernand, pl. 46.2 sixth in first row)
 10. London BM 1888.6-1.652c? (Bernand pl. 46.2 seventh in first row)
 11. Alexandria 9473 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 1 pl. 1 ?c.650 BC; cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 300 group III: 650-615 BC)
 12. Cairo 26153 (*Naukratis* II, 68 no. 878 pl. 20; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 2 pl. 1 ?c.650 BC; Edgar, *Vases*, 11; cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 300 group III; graffito: *τὸ πᾶλλονος*)
 13. Cairo 26155 (*Naukratis* II, 68 no. 881 pl. 20; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 3 pl. 2 ?650-615 BC; Edgar, *Vases*, 11f.; graffito: *Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμὶ*)
 14. Alexandria 17108 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 4 pl. 2 ?650-615 BC)
 15. Cairo 26154 (*Naukratis* II, 68 no. 879 pl. 20; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 5 pl. 2 ?650-615 BC; Edgar, *Vases*, 11; graffito: *Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμὶ*)
 16. Cairo Je 38359 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 6 pl. 2, 7th c.; ASAE 8, 1907, 157; graffito: *αβγδεζ*)
 17. Dublin v 4009 (Ex-Ashmolean G 116.3) (Vickers, *JHS* 91, 1971, 114 no. 1 pl. 13A; cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, group III)

Rosette bowls

1. Oxford G 116.1 (CVA (2) ii D pl. 1.7)

2. (Price, 185 fig. 10)
3. London BM 1924.12-1.864 (Bernand, pl. 46,2 third below)
4. Alexandria 17212 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 7 pl. 3, 6th c.)

Bowls with pendent lotus

1. London BM 1886.4-1.1170 (Price, 185 fig. 9; Bernand, pl. 46.2 first below)
2. London BM 1924.12-1.12 Frgt. with handle (Bernand, pl. 46.2 second below)
3. (a) London BM 1886.4-1.797 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 33.293+298; Bailey, *ABSA* 65,
(b) London BM 1886.4-1.802 1970, no. 1 pl. 1.1; graffito: *Α*]πόλλωσον [*sic*]
ἐμὶ)

Eye-Bowls

1. London BM 1888.6-1.392 Rhoikos bowl (*Naukratis* II, pls. 7.1, 21.778;
(A 1260) graffito: *Ποῖρος μ'ἀνέθηκε τ[ῇ] Ἀφρ]οδίτη;*
Boardman, *GO*³, 132 fig. 153; *Samos* vi 1, pl.
125 no. 1024; *LSAG*, 328 n. 5; 1st quarter 6th
c.; cf. V.4.g. *Samos* no. 2)
2. Oxford G116.6 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 1.16)
3. London BM 1886.4-1.1037 (Price, 185 fig. 11; Bernand, pl. 46.2 second
middle row)
4. London BM 1886.4-1.1038 (Bernand, pl. 46.2)
5. London BM 1924.12-1.901 (Bernand, pl. 46.2)
6. London BM 1886.4-1.1039 (Bernand, pl. 46.2)
7. London BM 1886.4-1.1036 (Bernand, pl. 46.2)

Rimless East Greek bowls

1. London BM 1886.4-1.813 (*Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.309; Bernand i 3, 669
no. 270; graffito: *ἀνέθηκε]ε Γλαῦκ[ος];* cf.
V.4.g. *Varia* no. 6a)
2. London BM 1886.4-1.249 (similar to last, but too small to be identified
certainly, *Naukratis* I, 66 pl. 32.191; Bernand i
3, 658 no. 152; graffito: *κάθ]θεκε;* cf. V.4.g.
Mytilene no. 5a)

i. List of Vroulian Vases

1. London BM 1888.6-1.573a bowl
(A 1015.2)
2. London BM 1888.6-1.573b-c shoulder of ?oinochoe
3. London BM 1888.6- perhaps from the same vase as (1)
1.573d, f, h
4. London BM 1888.6-1.573e shoulder of ?oinochoe
5. London BM 1888.6-1.573i shoulder of ?oinochoe
6. London BM 1888.6-1.573j

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 7. London BM 1888.6-1.573k | ?shoulder of ?oinochoe |
| 8. London BM 1888.6-1.569a-n, p-s | plate 3a, b |
| 9. Boston 88.840 | (Fairbanks, no. 328.1 pl. 36) |
| 10. Boston 86.544 | (Fairbanks, no. 328.2 pl. 36) |
| 11. Boston 86.543 | (Fairbanks, no. 328.3 pl. 36) |
| 12. Alexandria 9338 | oinochoe (Venit, <i>Naukratis</i> , no. 167 pl. 40) |
| 13. Alexandria 16886 | oinochoe (Venit, <i>Naukratis</i> , no. 168 pl. 40) |
| 14. Alexandria 17042 | oinochoe (Venit, <i>Naukratis</i> , no. 169 pl. 40) |
| 15. Alexandria 16887 | cup or bowl (Venit, <i>Naukratis</i> , no. 170 pl. 40) |

k. List of Ionian Bowls

Cnidian type

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. London BM 1886.4-1.681-2 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 62 pl. 33.237; Bernand i 3, 662 no. 198; Johnston, no. 15; graffito: <i>Χαρόφνης : με ἀνέ[θηκε τ]ἀπό[λλωνι τῶι Μ]ιλασίῳ</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Cnidus no. 1) |
| 2. London BM 1886.4-1.684 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 62 pl. 33.239; Bernand i 3, 663 no. 200; graffito: <i>Θεο]θέμιός ἡμι κ[ύλιξ</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Cnidus no. 2) |
| 3. London BM 1886.4-1.708 | foot (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 62 pl. 33.354; Bernand i 3, 672 no. 315; graffito: <i>Δαμο[—]</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Cnidus no. 3) |
| 4. London BM 1886.4-1.402 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 62 pl. 33.257; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 218; graffito: <i>τἀπόλο[νο]ς</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Aegina no. 2a) |
| 5. London BM 1886.4-1.657 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 62 pl. 33.258; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 219; graffito: <i>τἀπόλονος</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Aegina no. 2b) |

Varia

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 6. London BM 1886.4-1.310 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 62 pl. 33.250; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 211; graffito: <i>τἀπόλον[ος]</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Aegina no. 2d) |
| 7. London BM 1886.4-1.373 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 62 pl. 33.275; Bernand i 3, 664 no. 236; graffito: <i>τἀπό]λονός ἐ[μι</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Aegina no. 2c) |
| 8. London BM 1886.4-1.366 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 61 pl. 32.186; Bernand i 3, 657 no. 147; graffito: <i>Π]ρώταρχός με ἀνέθηκ[ε]</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 10c) |
| 9. London BM 1886.4-1.136 | (<i>Naukratis</i> I, 61 pl. 32.207; Bernand i 3, 660 no. 168; graffito: <i>[τῶ]ι Ἀπόλλωνι</i> ; cf. V.4.g. Rhodes no. 2a) |

10. London BM 1886.4-1.267 (*Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.185; Bernand i 3, 657 no. 146; *LSAG*, 361 no. 4; graffito: —a]ντίας : κάθ(θ)εκε τῷ [Ἀπόλλωνι; cf. V.4.g. Mytilene no. 4)
11. London BM 1886.4-1.262 (*Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32. 164; Bernand i 3, 655 no. 125; graffito: Ἀπόλλω]νι Διδυ[μεῖ; cf. V.4.g. Miletus no. 1)
12. London BM 1886.4-1.239 (*Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.110; Bernand i 3, 649 no. 72; graffito: Ἀπόλλωνός] ἐμι τῷ Μι[λησίῳ; cf. V.4.g. Miletus no. 6)
13. London BM 1886.4-1.819 (*Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 33.315; Bernand i 3, 669 no. 276; graffito: Ἀπό]λλονο[s; cf. V.4.g. Rhodes no. 2b)
14. London BM 1886.4-1.271 (*Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.209; Bernand i 3, 660 no. 170; graffito: ὁ δεῖνα ὁ] Τήϊος [Ἀπόλλωνι; cf. V.4.g. Teos no. 4)
15. London BM 1910.2-22.60 (*Naukratis* I, 62 pl. 34.447; Bernand i 3, 674 no. 336; graffito: Ἦρη; cf. V.4.g. Samos no. 1)
16. Oxford c141.58 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 1.28; *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 1063; graffito: Ἡρακλέ[ος)
17. Oxford c137.60 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 1.29; ivy-patterned rim ?Samian)
18. Oxford c137.59 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 1.30; similar to last with white dots)
19. Oxford 1912.41 (*CVA* (2) ii D pl. 1.31)
20. Oxford c141.49 (*ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 55 no. 49; graffito: Διοσφόρων)
21. London UC 402 (n 22) (graffito:]ΙΤΗ[; “East Greek cup”)
22. Alexandria 17282 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 171 pl. 41)
23. Alexandria 17221 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 172 pl. 41)
24. Alexandria 17085 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 173 pl. 41)
25. Alexandria 17223–4 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 174 pl. 41)
26. Alexandria 17046 (E. Kunze, *AM* 59, 1934, 92 n. 1; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 175 pl. 41)
27. Alexandria 9538 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 176 pl. 41)
28. Alexandria 9386 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 177 pl. 41 ?Samian)
29. Alexandria 17155 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 178 pl. 41)
30. Alexandria 9363 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 179 pl. 41)
31. Alexandria 17047 and 17145 (Kunze, *AM* 59, 1934, 94 no. 10 pl. 7.1; *Samos* vi 1, 129 pl. 50 no. 445; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 180a–b pl. 42 ?Samian)

1. List of Ionian Little Master Cups

1. London BM 1888.6-1.411 (*Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.855; Price, 183 fig. 3; *Samos* vi 1, pl. 53 no. 449)
2. London BM (*Samos* vi 1, pl. 53 no. 448)
3. London BM (*Samos* vi 1, pl. 45 no. 363a-b)
4. Alexandria 17154 (*Samos* vi 1, pl. 49 no. 442; Kunze, *AM* 59, 1934, pl. 7.2; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 201 pl. 47, who does not consider it as Little Master cup; B. B. Shefton, in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, iv (1989), 60f. figs. 13a-b Osborne House Painter)
5. Alexandria 17047 and 17145 (*Samos* vi 1, pl. 50 no. 445a-b; Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 180a-b pl. 42 mid-6th c. Ionian bowl)
6. Boston 88.829 (*Fairbanks*, no. 350.2 pl. 38)

m. List of *Bucchero* VasesAeolian *Bucchero*

(from the Temenos of Aphrodite with inscriptions in Aeolian dialect)

1. London BM 1888.6-1.634-5 (A 637) rim frgts. of dinos (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.788-9, 792; graffito 634: *κάθ]θεκε τᾷ Ἀ[φροδί]ται ὁ Μυτιλεναῖος*; graffito 635: —]δικλες [*κάθ]θεκε ὁ —/ . EEM—*; cf. *LSAG*, 361 no. 4; Bernand i 3, 685-6 nos. 439-40, 443; Johnston, no. 1; cf. V.4.g. Mytilene no. 1a)
2. London BM 1888.6-1.612a-c (A 639) big stand (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.790; graffito: *με κάθθε[κε] ὁ Μυτιλεναῖος*; *LSAG*, 361 no. 4; Bernand i 3, 686 no. 441; Johnston, no. 2; cf. V.4.g. Mytilene no. 1b)
3. London BM 1888.6-1.639 (A 623) stand in shape of lion's foot (Johnston, no. 41)
4. London BM 1888.6-1.644b (A 627) frgt. of an oinochoe (Johnston, no. 42)
5. London BM 1888.6-1.645 frgt. of a ?dinosstand (W. Lamb, *JHS* 52, 1932, 12 no. 3 pl. 1)
6. (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.786; graffito: *Μ]αλοείσιο[ς]*; Bernand i 3, 685 no. 437; cf. V.4.g. Mytilene no. 3)
7. (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.787; graffito: *τᾷ Ἀ[φροδί]ται*; Bernand i 3, 685 no. 438)
8. London BM 1888.6-1.414 (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.791; graffito: *κ]άθθε[κε]*; Bernand i 3, 686 no. 442)

9. (*Naukratis* II, 65 pl. 21.793; graffito: —]ων
ἐ[μὲ κάθθεκε]; Bernand i 3, 686 no. 444)
10. (*Naukratis* II, 67 pl. 22.840; graffito: Νέαρχος
με κά[θθεκε το]ῖς Δ[ιοσκόροις]; Bernand i 3,
691 no. 489; cf. V.4.g. Mytilene no. 2)
11. London UC 167 (n 26) (graffito: AN)

?Ionian Bucchero

1. (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 54 no. 39; graffito: HMI.)
2. (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 54 no. 40; graffito: INΔA)

Etruscan Bucchero

1. London BM 1888.6-1.643a (Johnston, no. 22; A. W. Johnston, *BICS* 29,
1982, 38 pl. 4a)
2. London BM 1888.6-1.643b (Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 38 with n.12 pl.
4c)
3. London BM 1888.6-1.643c (Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 38 without fig.)
4. London BM 1888.6-1.643d (Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 38 pl. 4b)
5. London UC 357 (Johnston, *BICS* 29, 1982, 38 without fig.)

n. List of Unspecified East Greek Vases

Unspecified East Greek bf vases

1. London BM 1888.6-1.575 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 8.8; Cook, ABSA 44,
1952, 140 no. 6)
2. London BM 1888.6-1.586 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 7.1; before mid-6th c.)
3. London BM 1900.2-14.1 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 7.2; before mid-6th c.)
4. London BM 1888.6-1.581 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 8.7; ?2nd quarter 6th c.)
5. London BM 1886.4-1.1197 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 8.9; ?2nd quarter 6th c.)
6. London BM 1888.6-1.782 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 8.10; 2nd quarter 6th c.)
7. London BM 1886.4-1.1249 (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 8.12; ?mid-6th c.)
8. Cambridge N44d (CVA (2) ii D pl. 19.15; Cook, ABSA 44,
1952, 143 n. 102 no. c)
9. (a) London BM 1886.4-
1.1295 (Cook, ABSA 44, 1952, 143 n. 102 no. a;
Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 162 pl. 39; (a) CVA (8)
(b) Cairo 26149 ii D n pl. 9.29; (b) Edgar, *Vases*, pl. 3)
10. (a) Alexandria 17251 (a) Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 161 pl. 38; (b) CVA
(?b) London BM 1952.5-
5.8a-b [Venit] (8) 13 pl. 8 fig. 5
11. Alexandria 9498 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 159 pl. 38)
12. Alexandria 9547 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 160 pl. 38)

13. Alexandria 17251 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 161 pl. 38, possibly from same vase as London BM 1952.5-5.8a-b (CVA (8) ii D n pl. 8.5) which is given as from Tell Defenneh)
14. Alexandria 9563 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 163 pl. 39)
15. Alexandria 9560 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 164 pl. 39)
16. Alexandria 9508 (Venit, *Naukratis*, no. 166 pl. 40)

East Greek Black-Glaze Vases

1. London BM 1886.4-1.562 bowl (*Naukratis* I, 61 pl. 32.99; Bernand i 3, 648 no. 61; graffito: *ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε τῷπόλλωνι τῷ Μιλ]ησίωι*; cf. V.4.g. Miletus no. 3)
2. London BM 1886.4-1.677-8 dinos (*Naukratis* I, 18 pl. 33.218; Bernand i 3, 661 no. 179, 673 no. 323 pl. 28.1; graffito: *Φάνης με ἀνέθηκε τῷπόλλωνι τῷ Μι]λησίωι ὁ Γλαύρο*; cf. V.4.g. Varia no. 6)
3. skyphos (ABSA 5, 1898/9, 56 no. 85a-b; Bernand i 3, 703 no. 608; graffito: —]αι[—]ρας Ἀρταμί]τι; cf. V.4.g. Rhodes no. 3)

2. FAIENCE FIGURES

Section 1: Black and White Blob Group and Related Fabrics

(A) Human figures

I. Black and White Blob group

1. London BM 1886.4-1.1585 (now EA) kouros type, found in town (*Naukratis* I, pl. 2.16; Webb, no. 287)
2. London UCL Petrie coll. 16476 kouros type playing aulos (Webb, no. 291)
3. London BM 1886.4-1.1330 (now EA 58308) kouros type playing aulos, strongly Egyptianizing (*Naukratis* I, pl. 2.7; Webb, no. 299 pl. 12)
4. London BM 1886.4-1.1220 (now EA) standing naked female (*Naukratis* I, pl. 2.8; Webb, no. 329)
5. London BM 1886.4-1.1395 (now EA 58310) standing naked female, found in town (*Naukratis* I, pl. 2.17; Webb, no. 339)

II. Mini Black and White group

6. London BM 1888.6-1.47 walking flute-player, clothed (*Naukratis* II, pl. 17.4; Webb, no. 364 pl. 12)

III. Fine 'Black and White' groups

- | | |
|--|--|
| 7. London BM 1888.6-1.46 | naked seated figure holding amphora of Phoenician type (Webb, no. 381 pl. 12) |
| 8. London BM EA 58307 | kneeling male figure with hands on thighs (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 2.10; Webb, no. 385) |
| 9. London BM 1888.6-1.48
(now EA 58309) | drummer (Webb, no. 388 pl. 12) |
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- | | |
|---|---|
| IV. The 'Block' group | |
| 10. London BM 1886.4-1.1499
(now EA) | seated flute-player, found in town (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 2.13; Webb, no. 389 pl. 13) |
| 11. London BM 1934.3-9.4 | lyre player (Webb no. 402 pl. 13) |
| 12. London BM 1886.4-1.1498
(now EA) | lyre player, found in town (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 2.12; Webb, no. 403 pl. 13) |
| 13. London BM 1886.4-1.1503
(now EA) | lyre player, found in town (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 2.18; Webb, no. 404 pl. 13) |
| 14. London BM EA 58306 | kneeling figure, in shirt, with amphora of Phoenician type (<i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 17.6; Webb, no. 405 pl. 13) |

(B) Animals with suspension loops

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 15. London BM EA 58318 | ram walking (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 2.6; Webb, no. 446) |
| 16. London BM 1886.4-1.1326 | lion couchant (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 2.11; Webb, no. 457) |
| 17. London BM EA 58319 | hawk, from Temenos of Apollo, 'AP4' on base (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 2.9; Webb, no. 499) |
| 18. Oxford 1888.222 | hawk (Webb, no. 500) |
| 19. Oxford 1888.221 | hawk (Webb, no. 501) |

Section 2: Egyptian and Related Pieces in Statuette Form

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 20. London BM 1886.4-1.1505 | hawk without suspension loop (Webb, no. 685) |
|-----------------------------|--|

Varia

- | | |
|---|--|
| 21. Boston O3.835
Francis Bartlett coll. | African head vase (Webb, no. 860 pl. 19) |
| 22. London BM 1886.4-1.1501 | hedgehog (mentioned in <i>JHS</i> 25, 1905, 134; Webb, no. 905 pl. 21) |
| 23. Copenhagen A 383 | hedgehog with sphinx head on back (Mogensen, <i>Coll. Egypt. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek</i> (1930), pl. 52; Webb, no. 906 pl. 21) |

24. Berlin Antikenmuseum double-headed vase (*Antikenmuseum Berlin. Die ausgestellten Werke* (1988) 51 no. 7; cf. Webb, 130f.; Plate 7a, b)
1979.81

3. SCARABS

Groups, types, and numbers refer to Gorton, who also has the unpublished pieces. All are scarabs unless otherwise stated.

Group 1 (Classical Egyptian Types)

Type V (steatite)

- 4 *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.74
5 *Naukratis* I, pl. 38.151

Group 2 (Late Egyptian Types and Local Imitations)

Type XI 14 (steatite or white paste)

Oxford 1896–1908 EA 917

Type XII 8b–c (steatite or hard paste)

Naukratis I, pl. 38.152; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.75

Group 5 (Egyptianizing Types for the Punic Market)

Type XXVI-A 1 (blue frit or faience)

London BM Eg66506 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 37.131)

Type XXVI-A 14

Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* (1889), 61

Type XXVI-B 4 (?from *Naukratis*, miniature scarab)

Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. 55.25c

Type XXVI-C 7 (miniature scarab)

London BM Eg66468 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 37.61)

Group 6 (The Naukratis Factory and Forerunners)

Type XXVIII-A (faience)

- 6–8 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.34, 37; *Naukratis* II, pl. 17.8

40–2 (disks)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.16, 35, 36
49–53	London BM Eg66454, 66456, Oxford EA911 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.32, 42, 43, 45)
73	London BM Eg66453 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.40)
91–3	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.28–30
108–9 (disks)	Oxford EA914 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.25); Oxford 1888.210 (<i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.62)
114–15 (Bes heads)	<i>Naukratis</i> II pl. 18. 55, 60
116 (African head)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.26
118–20	one is Oxford 1888.203 (<i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.11–13)
127–30 (disks)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.15, 17; <i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.10, 15
140–144b	one is London BM Eg66465 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.56, 57, 59); <i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.17, 21, 33
149–53 (disks)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.51, 54, 55; <i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.9, 18
159	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.7
167 (disk)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.5
169 (African head)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.4
173	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.120
177–80	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.20, 21; <i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.14, 16
184 (disk)	London BM Eg66529 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.44)
191–2 (disks)	London Eg66449 and <i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.33
201 (disks)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.8
203 (African head)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.9
204–5 (disks)	Oxford EA916 and <i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.13
216 (disk)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.127
Type XXVIII-B (with hieroglyphs)	
1–5	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.71, 73, 74, 78 and London BM Eg66475
13 (disk)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.75
16	London BM Eg66497 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.117)
24	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.84
32 (disk)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.86
36 (African head)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.83
37 (Horus name of Psammetichos II)	London BM Eg66490 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.96)
42	London BM Eg66459 (<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.49)
58–60 (disks)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.47, 48; <i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.22
62 (Bes head)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.100

- 63–5 (lion scaraboids) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.50, 92, 104
 71 *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.42
 89 (lion scaraboid) *Naukratis* II, pl. 37.99
 90 London BM Eg66988 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 37.95)
 97 London BM Eg66486 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 37.90)
 118 (daisy button) *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.25
 140–5 (disks) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.93; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.23–5, 30, 40
 151 (African head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.65
 152–4 (lion scaraboids) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.64, 69, 80
- Type XXVIII-C
 8 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.66
 10–12 (disks) Oxford 1888.207, London BM Eg66971, 66473 (*Naukratis* I, pl. 37.67, 68, 70)
- Type XXIX (faience)
 15–17 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.1, 3; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.1
 28–9 (disks and daisy buttons) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.2; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.2
 30–1 (disks and daisy buttons) Oxford 1888.209; Oxford EA 913
- Type XXX-A (coloured pastes, mainly blue frit)
 16–18 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.24, 77; Oxford EA 925
 21–31 (miniature scarabs) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.38, 39, 72, 97, 101, 102; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.20, 41, 53; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 54, 25 g2; Oxford EA 926.
- Type XXX-B
 10 *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.19
- Type XXXI (coloured paste, mainly blue frit, hieroglyphic inscriptions predominating)
 14–16 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.58, 128; London UCL Petrie Coll. (Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 13.790)
 23 (miniature scarab) Oxford 1896–1908 EA 908 (likely from *Naukratis*)
 24–5 (miniature scarab) London UCL Petrie Coll. (Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pls. 11.594; 13.831)
- Type XXXII-A (faience and blue frit)
 2–5 *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.3, 7, 46, 47
 28 (miniature scarab) *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.6

Type XXXII-B (The Bird Group)

- 8 (miniature disk) Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 14.1015
 9 (miniature ram's head) *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.56
 10 (Bes head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.126

Type XXXIII-A

- 20-3 *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.32, 57; Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 15.1036; London BM Eg 66526.
 37-9 (miniature scarabs) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.23, 129; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.35

Type XXXIII-C (The Winged Sphinx Group)

- 6-7 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.132; Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 13.830
 8 (small African head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.133

Type XXXIV-A (various coloured pastes, common Egyptian motifs)

- 7-8 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.134; Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 11.595
 10 (ram's head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.135
 16 (African head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.142

Type XXXIV-B (Orientalizing motifs)

- 14-17 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37, 130, 137-8; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18, 63.
 20 (oval pastille) London UCL Petrie Coll. (Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 14.884)
 24 (African head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.141
 25 (Bes head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.145
 26-8 (rams' heads) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.136, 143; Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 9.311

Type XXXIV-C (Hellenized motifs)

- 9 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.140
 13 (Bes head) *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.61
 14 (ram's head) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.144

Type XXXV

- 5-7 *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.146, 147; *Naukratis* II, pl. 18.58

Type XXXVI (miscellaneous)

- 7 (P-s-m-t-k name) *Naukratis* I, pl. 37.81

9 ("Son of Ra")	Oxford EA910
15 ("pa-di-bast" name)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.116
21-2 ("amen Ra" name)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.89; <i>Naukratis</i> , II pl. 18.36
24 (hieroglyphs)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.94
26 (hieroglyphs)	<i>Naukratis</i> II, pl. 18.52
28 (hieroglyphs)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.53
35 (African head)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 37.11
44 (hieroglyphs)	<i>Naukratis</i> I, pl. 38.169

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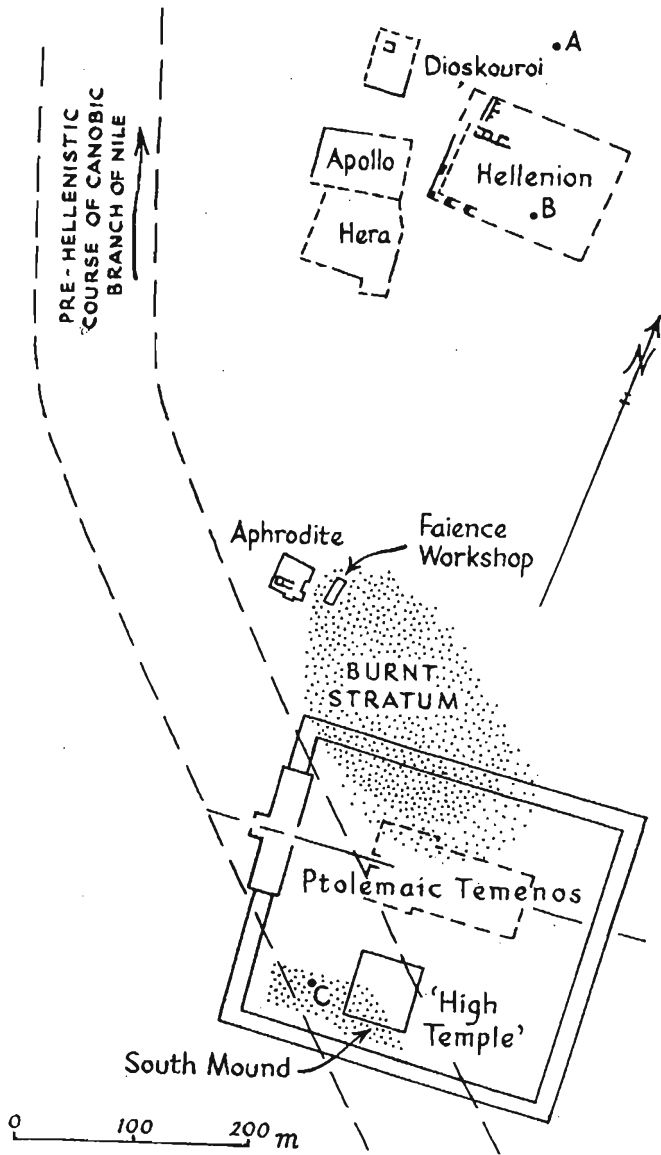


Fig. 1. Naukratis from late 7th to 3rd centuries BC (drawn by Marion Cox)
 A, B, C indicate points of core drilling

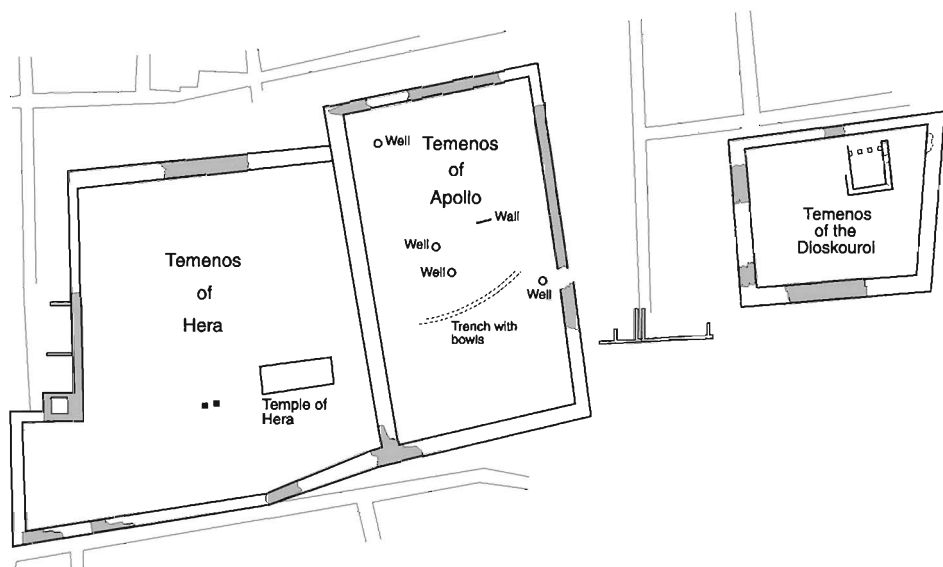
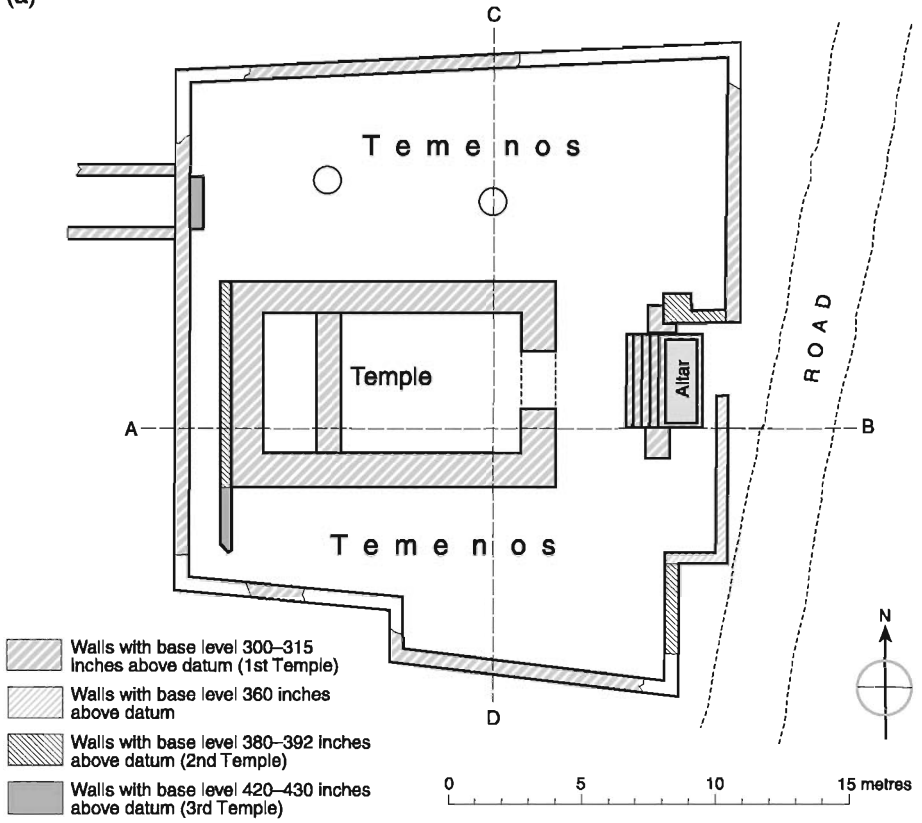


Fig. 2. Part of the northern sanctuaries (*Naukratis II*, pl. 4)

(a)



(b)

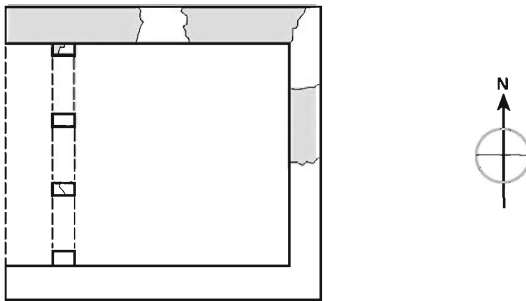


Fig. 3. (a) Temenos of Aphrodite (*Naukratis* II, pl. 1)

Fig. 3. (b) Temple of Dioskouroi (*Naukratis* II, pl. 1)

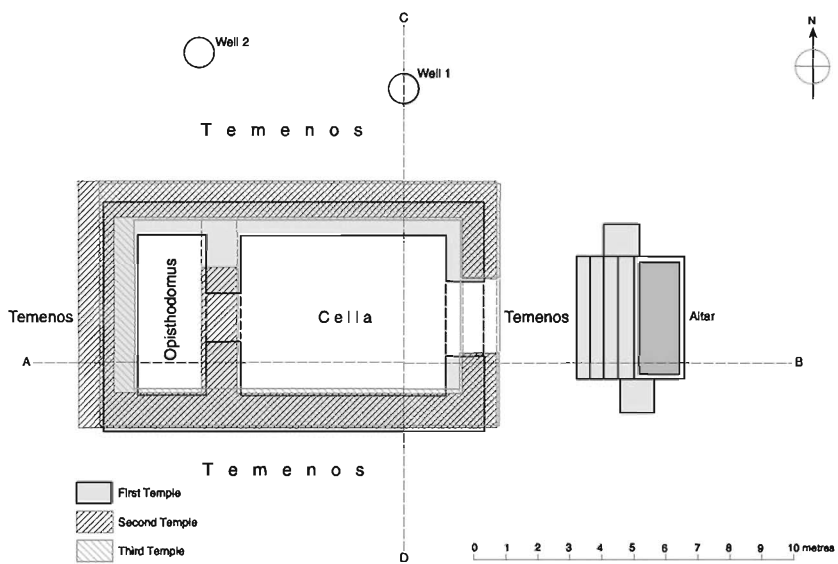


Fig. 4. Temple of Aphrodite (*Naukratis II*, pl. 2)

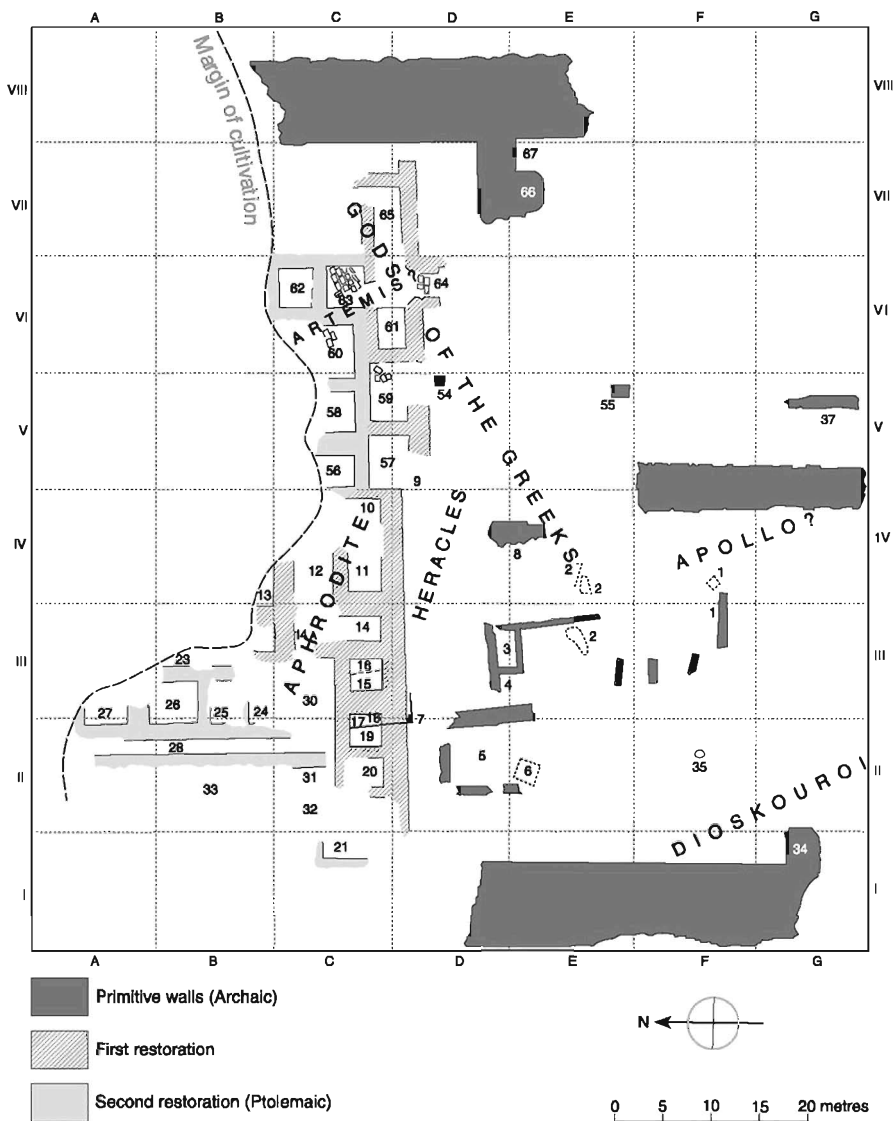


Fig. 5. The Hellenion (*JHS* 25, 1905, 113 fig. 1, with additions)

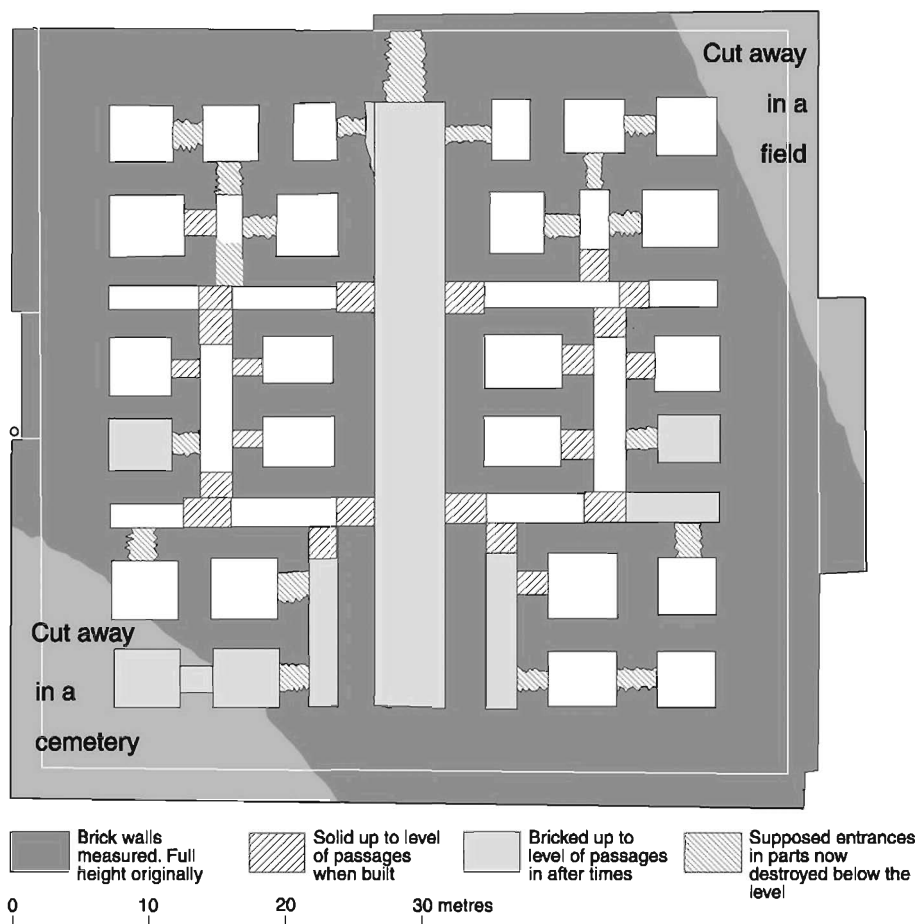
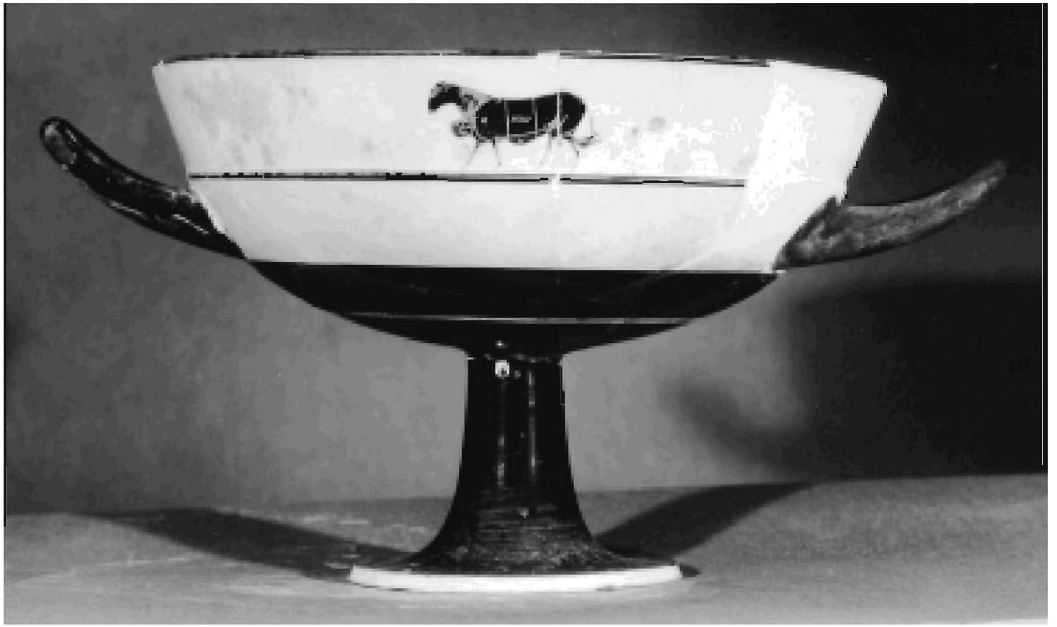


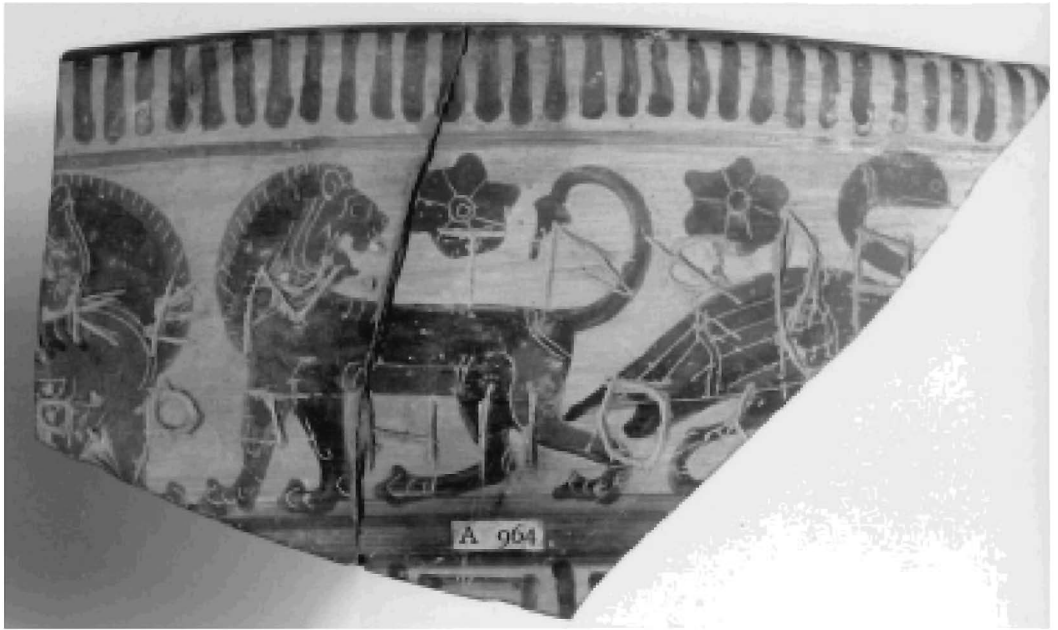
Fig. 6. Foundation of the 'High Temple' (*Naukratis I*, pl. 43)



1. a. Restored and augmented Athenian bf lip-cup (London BM B407; photo © The British Museum)



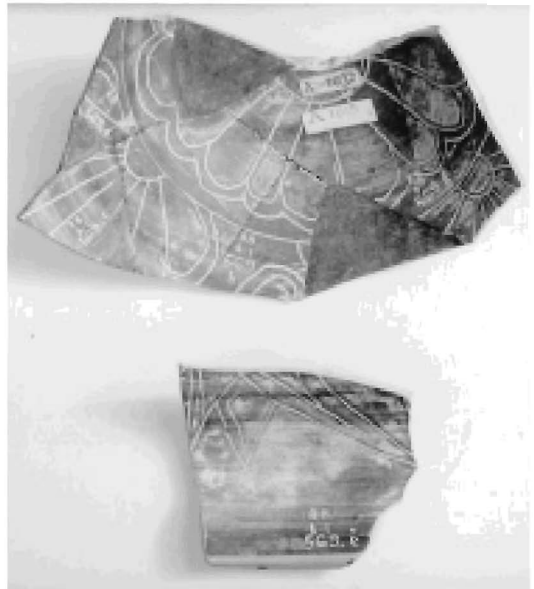
1. b. 'Polemarchos vase', part of a MWG II krater (London BM 1886.4-1.830; photo © The British Museum)



2. a. Fragment of a LWG bowl (London BM 1886.4-1.1261; photo R. L. Wilkins)



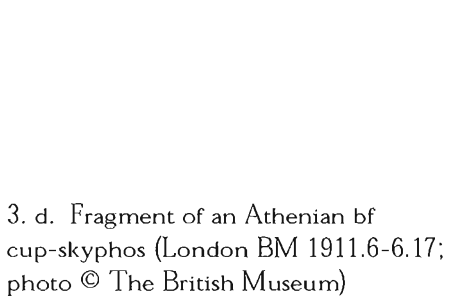
2. b. Fragment of a LWG column-krater (London BM 1888.6-1.394; photo R. L. Wilkins)



3. a, b. Fragments of a Vroulian bowl (London 1888.6-1.569; photo R. L. Wilkins)



3. c. Fragment of a Clazomenian big lid ascribed to the Urla Group (New York Met. Mus. 37.11.4; Fletcher Fund, 1937; photo museum)



3. d. Fragment of an Athenian cup-skyphos (London BM 1911.6-6.17; photo © The British Museum)





4. Chian 'Aphrodite bowl' (London BM 1888.6-1.456; photo © The British Museum)



5. a. Statuette of hunter in mixed style
(London BM B451; photo © The British
Museum)



5. b. Kouros statuette (Leipzig s463;
photo museum)



6. a. Draped female limestone statuette (London BM B460; photo © The British Museum)

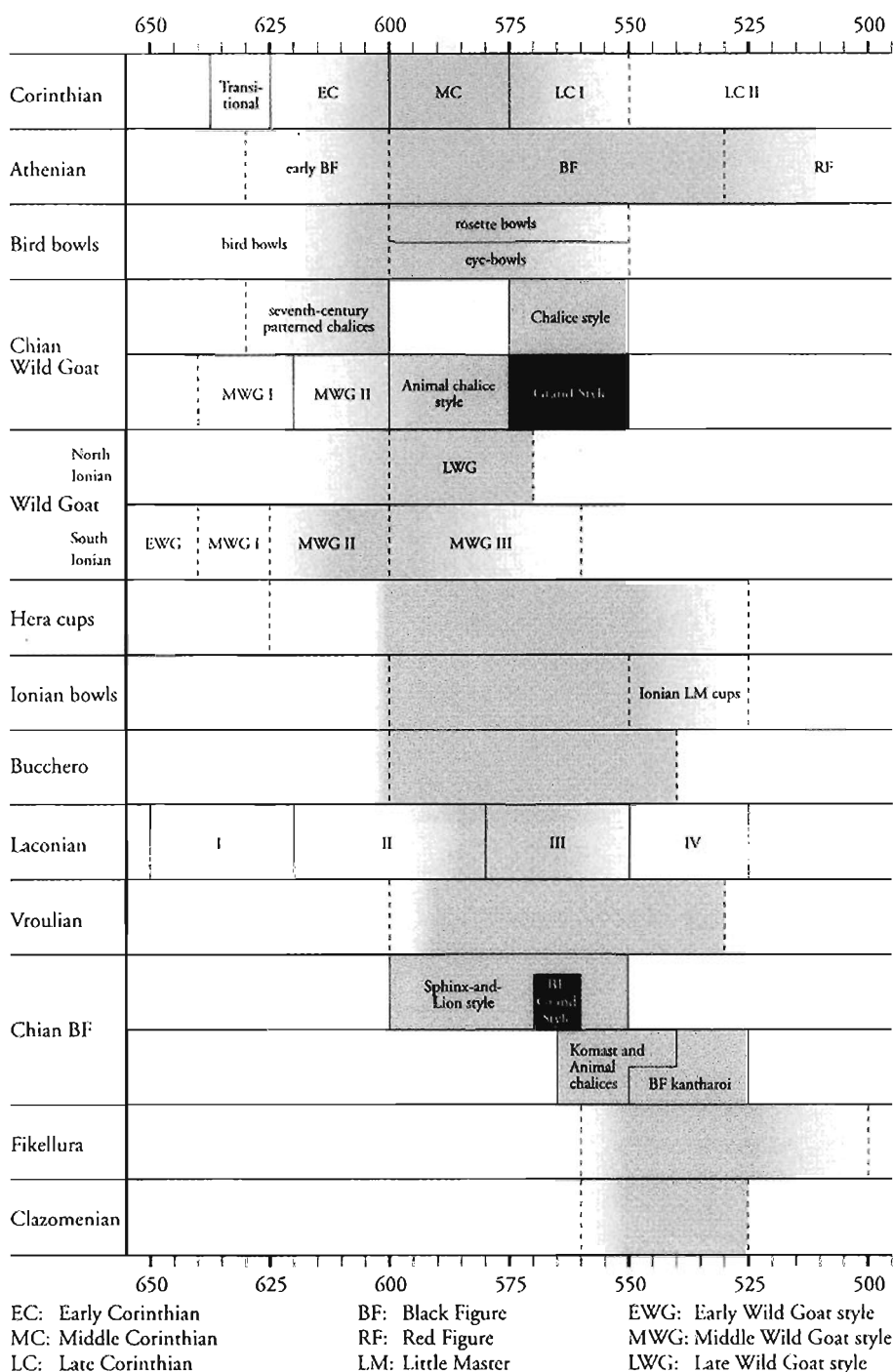


6. b. Terracotta Aphrodite statuette of Achna type (London BM B325; photo © The British Museum)



7. a, b. Faience double-headed vase (Berlin 1979.81; photo Ingrid Geske-Heiden © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz)





EC: Early Corinthian BF: Black Figure EWG: Early Wild Goat style
 MC: Middle Corinthian RF: Red Figure MWG: Middle Wild Goat style
 LC: Late Corinthian LM: Little Master LWG: Late Wild Goat style

The chart gives a rough indication of the relative occurrence of each style at Naukratis without specifying any absolute numbers. Grand Style and BF Grand Style fragments have nearly all been found at Naukratis.

8. Chronological chart of Greek pottery styles (Graphics by möller projekt design Berlin)